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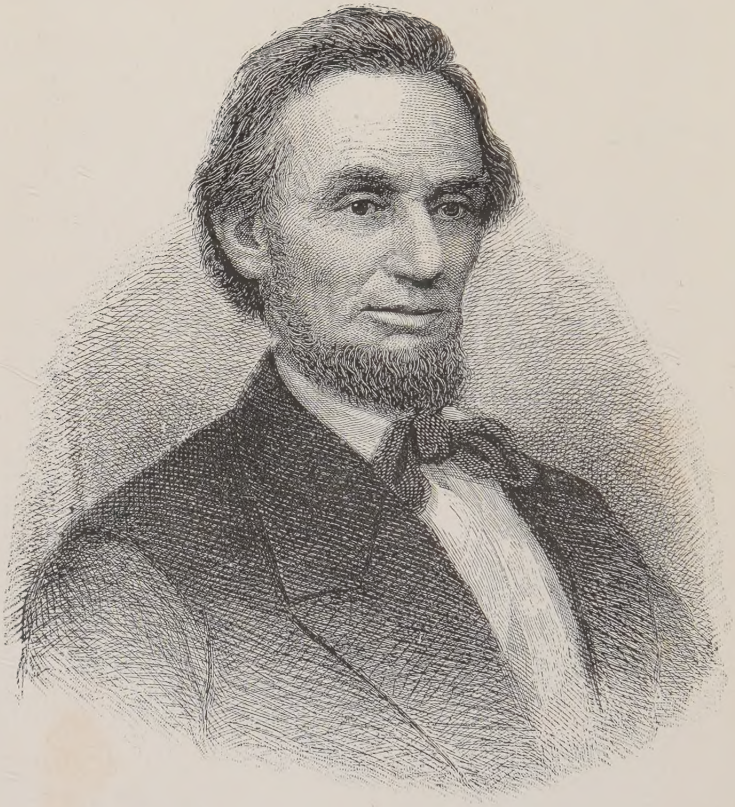

Your friend as ever

A. Lincoln

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY:

ITS

HISTORY, PRINCIPLES, AND POLICIES.

EDITED BY

HON. JOHN D. LONG,

M. C. AND EX-GOVERNOR OF MASS.

Rec'y Navy
McKinley 1st administration

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PREFACE.

WHILE this work will serve a useful purpose in the Presidential campaign of the present year, it has also a higher and permanent value as a concise yet substantial history of the Republican party, and a comprehensive discussion of the most important political questions now pending.

The object of its preparation has been to give alike to the student and to the busy man an authoritative statement, first, of the great work achieved by that party for human freedom and the people's welfare; and, second, of the great economic and beneficent principles on which it has insured and will continue to insure the development of the Republic along every line of prosperity and progress.

The names of the historian and of the contributors who follow him are the best earnest of its contents, each of them an authority upon every question he treats, and all holding commanding places in national councils. They have been actuated by a desire to impress the truth of history and the foundations of political principle, and to responsibly instruct the popular mind. The result, therefore, is not an ephemeral work, prepared as a part of the shout of a campaign, but a substantial contribution to political literature.

Parties, like individuals, sometimes suffer from the very unbroken sequence of their own good record. It at last becomes tiresome to hear Aristides always called the Just. No political party in any age or quarter of the civilized world ever had so brilliant and beneficent a career or lived up to its own standards so faithfully as the Republican party of Lincoln and Harrison. Yet perhaps for that very reason the new generation of voters, who since its birth have come to the ballot-box, hardly ap-

preciate for what an advance and achievement it has stood and still stands, and how vital are its principles to the safety and progress of the country. There has been at times a tendency rather to fling at its grand old record than to count the value of its work. It is especially important, therefore, that the popular mind be instructed to look beyond the catchwords and party cries of the hour, and to comprehend the principles that are at stake.

Happily, too, a reaction has already begun in consequence of the present Democratic supremacy, with its painful backsliding from the pretense of civil-service reform; the acknowledged inability of its chief to rise above its own level, either of reform or of administration; its humiliating abandonment of American rights in all its negotiations with foreign powers; and its now unconcealed surrender of the protection of American industries and labor.

The Republican party has not only made a Presidential nomination which commands the universal respect due to a loyal soldier, a wise statesman, and an honest, unspotted man, but its platform is a fearless, outspoken statement of its faith, evading nothing, inviting discussion, patriotic, progressive, AMERICAN.

The following pages will not have been written in vain if they shall coöperate with the efforts of a party which puts such leaders at its front and so boldly enunciates its principles; or if they shall help to reawaken the spirit which in 1861 sprang, at the risk of life itself, to the rescue of freedom and the Union, and which in 1888 is again summoned to the battle of the people—the battle of an honest vote against a corrupt ballot-box; of education and temperance against the grog-shop; of protected labor against pauperism; and of a country developed, defended, prosperous, against national humiliation on the one hand or an "innocuous desuetude" on the other.

THE EDITOR.

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THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

POLITICAL PARTIES: 1789–1856.

By the Editor.

During the Revolution there were two parties—the Whig and the Tory. The former contended for independence from Great Britain; the latter for continued allegiance to that power. The patriots triumphed, and the Tories either fled the country or accepted the situation and submitted.

For a time thereafter no organized political parties existed. Under the Articles of Confederation, however, earnest movement soon began for a stronger common government. There was no executive power. Congress could recommend action to the States, but it had no power to enforce action. It was a political condition of national helplessness. Its continuance was certain to result in resolving the Union back into its original elements of thirteen independent sovereignties. There was a general recognition of the necessity of a more vigorous national constitution; but when the question came of its formation, then began the differences which have ever since distinguished parties in this country. On one side were those who emphasized the Nation, demanded sovereign federal power, and insisted on liberal provision for national development and forthputting; while on the other were those who emphasized the States, demanded the reservation of their sovereignty, and insisted on restricted national powers. The Constitution was a compromise of these conflicting forces. And as the conflict was waged in its promotion, so has it since been waged in its interpretation and application. The question of its adoption by the several States turned each one of them into two con-

tending camps—Federalist and Anti-federalist. Nothing but the absolute necessity of a national government gave us our present Federal Constitution.

Once in operation, there was so far a suspension of party organization (but never of fundamental difference of opinion) that Washington was the unanimous choice of the people as their first president. Hardly, however, had his administration begun—the first administration of the Federalists—before an opposition party asserted itself. The French Revolution had just overthrown monarchy and set up a republic. The American people were at once touched with sympathy with this new cause of freedom and shocked at the atrocities that marked its career. As one or the other sentiment predominated, so did it array our people on one side or the other. Wisely refraining from interference with the quarrels in which the French Republic was engaged with its neighbors, Washington and his cabinet arrayed the Federalists upon the neutral ground which has since then been the American policy as to European complications. On the other hand, Jefferson, leaning towards French radicalism, was gathering those who sympathized with the French movement around the banner of popular democracy with which he was then and thenceforth identified, and under which he began to marshal the great party that has from that time looked to him as its founder.

Washington issued a proclamation announcing that the United States government would remain neutral in the wars then going on in Europe. This document roused the anger of the Anti-federalists, who seized upon the occasion to organize a systematic and general opposition to the administration, but especially to the policy of neutrality. Then followed the formation of a series of clubs, modeled after the radical *Jacobin Clubs* of Paris; the object of the latter being to oppose the existing government of that city by secret measures and intrigues. The "Democratic Society" was formed in Philadelphia, at that time the seat of the National Government. Similar clubs were organized extensively in Pennsylvania and in other States. Meanwhile these associations attracted the attention of the Parisians, and one, "the Society of Charleston,

South Carolina, on its own application was recognized by the Jacobin Club in Paris as an affiliated branch." There was some difficulty in adopting a party name. The first used was *Democratic-Republican;* but the latter word, though preferred by Jefferson, was after some time dropped, and the simple designation "Democratic" retained.

Immediately after the adoption of the Constitution differences of opinion arose as to its proper interpretation. The original Anti-federalists wished to have it interpreted "strictly," while the Federalists believed that the Constitution should be so interpreted as to make the operation of its principles most effectual in national development. Alexander Hamilton emphasized the "implied powers of the Constitution"—meaning that if the Constitution authorizes a certain thing to be done, it impliedly authorizes the use of the appropriate means to do it. The former class of expounders were known in the phrases of the times as "strict constructionists," and the latter as "loose or broad constructionists."

The doctrine of the implied powers of the Constitution has become the settled policy of the land; to this result the strict constructionists themselves have materially aided. For instance: The Constitution authorizes Congress "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers," meaning those expressly given it by the Constitution. Among these is authority "to regulate commerce among the several States." As trade cannot be carried on properly without facilities for exchange, Congress chartered a "National Bank for twenty years, with the privilege to establish branches in the States" (1789). This bank was established at the suggestion of Hamilton. The strict constructionists bitterly opposed the proposition. They took special umbrage at the last clause, which permitted branches to be organized within the States. They thus discouraged a measure that would seem to have the effect of uniting the States in a bond of Union. The chief opposition in this case came from the Virginia school of constructionists. At this early day we see cropping out the theory that afterwards developed into the extreme States-right doctrine.

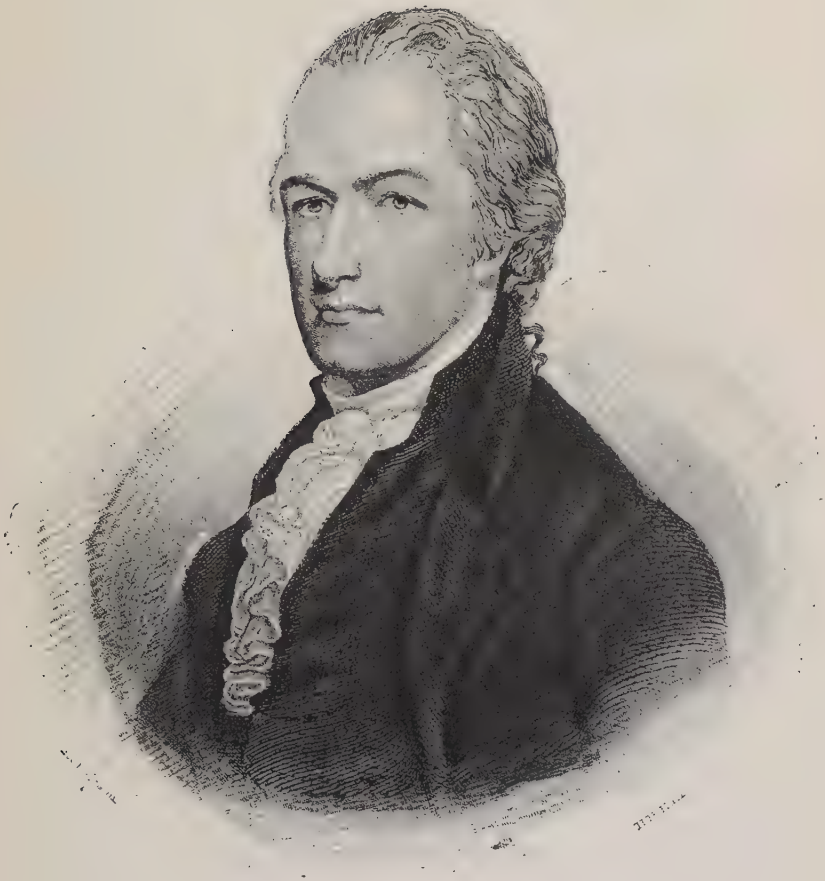
Akin to this was the question of Internal Improvements. Congress, for example, is authorized by the Constitution "to establish post-offices and post-roads." It was very important to make the valley of the Ohio more accessible to the Atlantic slope by means of a suitable road across the Alleghany Mountains. In consequence the famous National or Cumberland road was proposed to be built by the National Government. The "strict constructionists" proclaimed the project unconstitutional, yet when in authority they voted appropriations for it till it was finished (1806–1820). The road was too important to permit fine-spun theories of interpretation to frustrate the work.

The Constitution says: "New States may be admitted by Congress into the Union." The authority is given and Congress is at liberty to devise the means; neither is there any restriction as to how the proposed territory shall be obtained. Here is an occasion wherein the "implied powers" can be utilized. The important question as to the purchase of Louisiana presented itself, and President Jefferson, the chief of the strict constructionists, was put to the test of his own theories. Of course he yielded, and made the purchase (1803), but apologized for the act by characterizing it as extra-constitutional.

These inconsistencies of the prominent strict constructionists did much to neutralize the influence of their theory, and cause that of the "implied powers" to become the policy of the Nation. The power of Congress to charter National banks, or to make appropriations for internal improvements, has long since been unquestioned; while Congress is untrammeled in obtaining territories, and in due time, as the case may be, admitting them as States.

The Federal party was in power during the administration of Washington, and that of John Adams. During this time its policy was subjected to the continual and unscrupulous assaults of the opposition, whose leaders resisted nearly every measure proposed in Congress by the Federalists.

The "clubs" being modeled after those of Paris, partook of the traits of the latter, and the turbulent and violent men of the times found in them congenial elements. Says Prof. Sum-



A Hamilton

ner, in his life of Jackson: "The Republican (Democratic) party in 1796 was filled with ill-informed and ill-regulated sympathy for the French Revolutionists, and if it could have had its way it would have committed the United States to close relations with France, and, by importing Jacobinism into this country, have overthrown constitutional liberty here."

The principles of his predecessor governed the administration of John Adams, and the opposition was still indefatigable in assaults upon his policy, which on the whole has since become the policy of the Union. It is remarkable that though the Federalists were defeated in the election that chose Jefferson President, yet the main features of their interpretation of the Constitution have since been accepted. One of the best appointments made by John Adams was the most important in its influence ever made by a President. It was the appointment of John Marshall, of Virginia, to the office of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. The Federal party, though dead, spoke through him for thirty-five years, sustaining the integrity of the Constitution of an integral Nation in contradistinction to that of a confederation or league of States; repelling the continuous assaults of those who, if their theories had been carried out, would have disintegrated the Union; and dissipating the ominous shadows of the famous resolutions of '98, which culminated in the attempt at nullification and afterward in the effort to break up the Union by force of arms. The gist of these resolutions is that the States, having formed the Union, are still sovereign and independent, and have a right, of their own separate motion, to nullify any act of the Federal Government which they, of their own separate judgment, regard as unconstitutional, thus making any one State more potent than the Union of them all. It was a departure from Madison's former faith. It was the doctrine of "States' Rights," which later found its great advocate in Calhoun, whom Webster overthrew in debate, and its last defense in the intrenchments of the rebellion of 1861, which the soldiers of the North forever leveled under the resistless sweep of their victorious battalions. The Federals survived as a party organization till the second election of Jefferson in

1804; he then had 162 electoral votes, while the Federal candidate, Charles C. Pinckney, had only 14.

The relative material prosperity of the country for twelve consecutive years under Washington and Adams has never been excelled when viewed in the light of the circumstances of the time, and compared with other prosperous periods of our Nation. Commerce throve. An immense carrying trade was promoted, owing to the wars then in progress in Europe. The revenue was ample for the current expenses of the Government. Industrial pursuits were encouraged to a remarkable extent. But the masses were led to believe by the harangues and ludicrous clamor of native demagogues and the newspaper writings of foreign refugee editors, that the Nation was rushing headlong to destruction.

After the second election of Jefferson (1804) the Federal party virtually disbanded as a political organization, except in the New England States; yet its leading minds maintained in Congress a dignified support of their distinctive principles whenever occasion required.

The wars continuing in Europe, a number of questions came up in Congress during Jefferson's administration, which were debated with great power and eloquence. Some of the measures proposed by the President met with much opposition from a portion of his own party, who joined with the Federalists from the North, especially Massachusetts. These bolting Democrats were contemptuously nicknamed "Quids" by their former associates. They were led by John Randolph, of Virginia, and without doubt caused the modification of some objectionable measures. One of these was the gunboat scheme in which the President, on the plea of economy, recommended to be built and equipped a number of gunboats, which were to be anchored in the harbors as a means of defense against an enemy's warships, instead of having men-of-war of our own. As soon as he entered upon office he had commenced cutting down expenses by stopping work on the six ships of the line then in construction for the defense of our coasts and our commerce. The money had been appropriated and the work begun during John Adams' administration, but Jefferson ordered their

frames to be cut up and the timber made into gunboats. The latter came to nothing in the way of defense, and were the subject of ridicule, especially among naval men.

As another expedient Jefferson proposed the famous embargo, which his majority in Congress, having implicit faith in the wisdom of the executive, passed. It proved equally futile in annoying the belligerents, who were boarding and searching American merchantmen, ostensibly for goods contraband of war, and ruining the Nation's commerce, especially that of the New England States, in which at that day the principal shipping interests of the country was concentrated. These irritations between England and the United States continued, and the commander of the British frigate Leopard, emboldened by the defenseless condition of our coast, fired upon, boarded, and took from the deck of the United States frigate Chesapeake four men, whom he claimed as deserters from another British vessel. This incident served to unite both political parties in condemning such outrages, but owing to the parsimony of the administration the country was virtually defenseless, and consequently was contemptuously treated by the belligerents of Europe.

In 1808, the Democrats nominated James Madison, of Virginia, for the office of President, and the Federalists, now joined by the Quids, renominated their previous candidate, Charles C. Pinckney—Madison receiving 122 electoral votes, and Pinckney 47.

When Madison assumed office our difficulty with foreign nations yet continued, and with England they were still more complicated. From 1803 to 1811, it is said that 900 American merchant vessels were captured by the belligerents with corresponding loss to the owners, but the Government at Washington could hardly be roused into an attitude of self-respecting resistance.

Congress, on the recommendation of President Madison, finally declared war against England, June 18, 1812. The effect of the declaration was in the main to unite all parties in defense of the country, but of course there were different opinions in respect to the manner in which the war should be

conducted. The remarkable success of the little navy in capturing British vessels of equal power, and the skill and daring of the American officers, elicited praise from friend and foe, and had the effect of greatly encouraging the Nation and developing a vigorous war sentiment. After the war the whole people were virtually united in one party. "The cardinal principle of the Federal party, the preservation and perpetuity of the Federal Government, had been quietly accepted and adopted by the Democrats, while the Democratic principle of limiting the Federal Government's powers and duties had been adopted by the Federalists."

In the presidential election of 1816, James Monroe, of Virginia, was elected President. So great was the unanimity of sentiment now manifested throughout the Union that a part of the time of this administration was characterized as the "era of good feeling."

Meanwhile elements were at work preparing the way for new political organizations. The spirit of enterprise was abroad in respect to mechanical industry, and at the same time there was growing up within the Democratic party itself a more liberal construction of the Constitution, in contrast with the views of the strict constructionists which formerly prevailed. Congress passed a tariff designed for revenue, but also involving further protection to our "infant industries."

The movement did not stop there, but went still further, and chartered a National Bank for twenty years (1816). Alexander Hamilton's famous argument in favor of such a bank was now published in leading newspapers throughout the country with warm approval. Almost a complete change had taken place from the narrow theory held by the early Democratic leaders. The number holding these liberal views, with which the former Federalists fully sympathized, were now sufficient to become the germ of a new political organization. Henry Clay was the inspiring spirit. He was the first to stand forth and encourage every movement that would promote American industry and progress. He had been aggressive during the war of 1812, and was the chosen leader of the young and progressive American element.

Just as party lines were about to be drawn on these questions another element cropped out, which suddenly made two parties clear and distinct, but they were on a geographical line—that of the free-labor and the slave-labor States.

The question of slavery came into our politics as a disturbing cause in the relations between these great sections of the Union. The occasion was when the Territory of Missouri (1819) presented itself to be received into the Union as a State. Congress granted the request, but insisted on an amendment to its constitution in the form of a clause forbidding slavery. The Territory belonged to the Louisana purchase, all of which was reckoned free soil, but it had been settled largely from the States of Virginia and Kentucky. The settlers had taken with them their slaves, and wished to perpetuate the system of negro servitude. In the House the members from the free-labor States, having a majority, voted for the clause prohibiting slavery, while those from the slave-labor States voted against it. But the amendment failed to pass the Senate.

Congress adjourned (March 3, 1819), and the question passed over to a new Congress which met on the 6th of the following December. This was the commencement of an agitation that lasted for forty-five years, and was only allayed after a bloody war lasting four years. During all these years slavery was a disturbing element, its advocates uniting in their efforts to preserve the system, and also to extend it by acquiring Territories for that express purpose. Its guardians watched every movement that had a tendency either to benefit or injure it. This spirit penetrated business relations North and South; it influenced the education of the people; trammeled the intercourse between the two sections; stood in the way of a free expression of opinion or interchange of thought on the subject; invaded the churches and created divisions; and made even the teaching of the slaves to read a penal offense. Financial questions and tariff legislation were made subordinate to the advancement and stability of the slave system; the Nation was disgraced by filibustering expeditions against our Southern neighbors in order to make room for its extension. Party lines to a certain extent on subjects not con

nected with slavery, directly or indirectly, were found in the free as well as in the slave labor States, but on slavery the geographical line was definitely drawn.

The following year Missouri again applied for admission to the Union, and at the same session Maine, formerly a part of Massachusetts, also applied. The latter was granted admission by the House without opposition, but the former was again refused because the amendment prohibiting slavery was insisted upon. When the matter came before the Senate, it joined the two interests in one bill and passed it. It was the first instance of the policy initiated for the purpose of having the increase of the Senate equally divided between the free and slave States. When the Senate bill came to the House it was rejected. A compromise followed, known as the famous Missouri Compromise (1820). By this, Missouri was admitted to the Union, but it was provided that thenceforth slavery should be prohibited in all Territories lying north of the line 36° 30′ and west of the State line of Missouri.

President Monroe was elected for a second term (1820), with only one electoral vote against him. The tendency to a more liberal construction of the Constitution was manifest from the fact that the House elected John W. Taylor of New York its Speaker. He was in favor of a Protective Tariff, of a system of internal improvements, and also of limiting the extension of slavery. The Southern members took umbrage at the action of the House; already were heard mutterings about the dissolution of the Union.

The strict constructionists were, however, able to defeat an attempt to enlist government aid in favor of a national canal system, and also a tariff having more protective features.

During the first session of the last Congress (XVIIIth) of Monroe's administration mention was made by him in one of his messages of the revolt of the Spanish colonies on this continent against that country. It was then that he announced as the policy of the United States that they would not interfere in European affairs, neither would they tolerate any European power obtaining a controlling influence on this continent. This declaration has passed into history as the *Monroe Doctrine;*

but its inspiring spirit was John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State.

The tariff of 1824 was an advance in its protective features. It was passed by the votes of the Northern members, while the Southern were almost unanimously opposed to it on the ground that it was unconstitutional. They also charged that it was sectional. Congress at the same session, passed a bill to institute a series of preliminary surveys for a national system of lands. The era of good feeling had obliterated organized parties, yet there was pervading the minds of the people a distinct recognition of the change going on in respect to the interpretation of the Constitution.

The result of the disintegration of political parties was that when the contest for the Presidency in 1824 commenced, various coteries put forth their favorites as candidates. There were four in all; William H. Crawford, of Georgia, Secretary of the Treasury; John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, Secretary of State; Henry Clay, of Kentucky, Speaker of the House, and General Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, then in private life.

Party lines were not clearly drawn, but Crawford and Jackson were recognized as strict constructionists—Adams and Clay as more liberal. Jackson was, however, inclined to favor a Protective Tariff. John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, Secretary of War, was generally supported for the Vice-Presidency by the friends of the other candidates, and he was selected by the popular vote.

Of the four candidates for the Presidency Jackson had 99 electoral votes; Adams, 84; Crawford, 41; and Henry Clay 37. As no candidate had a majority of the whole electoral vote the election, according to the Constitution, was transferred to the House of Representatives, which on such an occasion votes by States. Only the three candidates having the highest number of electoral votes were eligible to be voted for; hence Henry Clay was excluded. The friends of Clay gave Adams their vote, and he was elected President; thirteen States voted for Adams, seven for Jackson, and four for Crawford.

As soon as Adams assumed office the strict constructionists —the Jackson and Crawford men—joined forces in general op-

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position to his administration. This had the effect of uniting in its defense the liberal constructionists, the supporters of Adams and Clay. These combinations of the four factions formed two parties. The first retained the name Democrat, (the name preferred by Jackson) and the second was known as National Republican. The latter organization was composed of the remnants of the Federal party and the more liberal and progressive elements of the Democratic party which had joined them.

In the first session of the XIXth Congress (1825) the liberals had only five majority in the House, and that was liable at any time to change sides on doubtful questions. In the Senate they also had a majority. In that body an important change was made in the appointment of its committees. From the foundation of the Government, thirty-seven years before, the presiding officer had named the members of the several committees. At this session Vice-President Calhoun was charged with packing them in such a manner as to give the control to the "Jackson men;" and the Senate, to avoid the application of such illiberal partisanship, changed the rule, and since then has chosen its own committees.

During the remainder of Adams' administration the opposition virtually resolved itself into obstructionists in order to prevent the passage of measures that would have a national bearing. The House passed a bill increasing somewhat the rates of the existing tariff, but Vice-President Calhoun defeated it in the Senate by his casting vote. In 1816 he had favored a Protective Tariff, as he had also inclined to a National Bank. But as the champion of slavery he became the very champion also of States' rights.

The elections for the Twentieth Congress resulted in giving the Democrats the control of the House of Representatives.

Meanwhile discussions in regard to the protection of American industries continued among the people and in the newspapers, especially in the free-labor States. A tariff having higher rates than that of 1824 was demanded. In this demand numbers of Democrats of the latter States joined the Protectionists. The strict constructionists, especially in the slave-

labor States, were in favor of what they termed a "Tariff for revenue only." The latter States had scarcely any manufactories or diversity of industries; they had cotton, tobacco, and the proceeds of their pine forests to send abroad in exchange for what they received from outside their own States. After a debate of some six weeks the tariff of 1828 was passed, which in its general protective character satisfied the manufacturers of the free-labor States, but was bitterly opposed by the cotton and tobacco raisers in the slave States. The latter characterized it as "legalized robbery." Now were heard the mutterings of nullification, to sanction which were invoked the principles of the resolutions of '98.

Meanwhile a Presidential canvas was going on; the candidates of the Democracy were Andrew Jackson and John C. Calhoun; of the National Republicans, John Quincy Adams and Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania. This was the first time that the candidates of both parties were taken respectively from the slave-labor and free-labor States. Both selections were deemed sectional. In the election the Democrats were successful by a large majority.

The last session of Congress under J. Q. Adams' administration was comparatively quiet; the obstructionists had obtained their object—the future control of the Government. The President in his message strongly advocated protection. Unusually large appropriations were made for internal improvements, though opposed by the "strict" Democrats on the ground that they were unconstitutional.

During General Jackson's administrations (1829–1837) the leading parties remained the same. This was the period of the Anti-masonic party, which arose in Western New York. It grew out of the kidnapping of William Morgan (1826), a citizen of Batavia in that State, and a member of the society of Freemasons. He proposed to publish a book revealing the secrets of the order, and suddenly disappeared under circumstances that aroused suspicions of foul play. The affair caused great excitement in that portion of the State, and a political party was formed, whose "avowed object was to exclude Freemasons from office." It disappeared in a few years, after hav-

ing polled in several States, and at different times, a large number of votes, though it never became a national party. Members of it appeared, however, in limited numbers on the floor of Congress, and the party assisted in making nominations and in supporting candidates for the Presidency. In general political views they sympathized with the National Republicans.

Another organization—"The National Anti-slavery Society"—suddenly appeared (1833), and afterward exerted a tremendous influence upon the destinies of the Nation, though it never claimed to be a national political party.

The National Republicans became more and more dissatisfied with their name, and in the State of New York (1834) they adopted that of Whig, borrowed from Revolutionary times. This name was gradually accepted and in a short time it became the recognized title of the organization.

When the Presidential canvas of 1836 was impending, the first of our National Conventions was held at Baltimore, a year in advance, by delegates of the Democratic party, who nominated Martin Van Buren, of New York, for the office of President, and Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, for the second place. The Whigs and the Anti-masons, after a rather informal nomination, supported General William H. Harrison, of Ohio, for the office of President, and Francis Granger, of New York, for the second place. Van Buren was elected, and Johnson, not having received a majority of the electoral votes cast, was chosen by the Senate.

Van Buren's administration (1837–1841), in its general policy, was designed to be the prolongation of that of Jackson, the new President announcing upon his entrance upon office his purpose "to follow in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessor." The latter had "sown the wind," and the former was about "to reap the whirlwind." It came in the form of the national financial crash of 1837, up to that time the most tremendous in our history. The banks of New York city were the first to suspend specie payments; those of other cities soon followed. The failures were specially numerous in New Orleans; corporations became bankrupt as well as business men,

and many fortunes which, owing to the speculations current at the time, had a fictitious basis, vanished like a vision. Financial distress pervaded the whole land.

When the XXVth Congress met in extra session, it was found that the Whigs had made unusual gains, lacking only fourteen of having a majority in the House. A number of Democratic members sympathized with them, and a small number of the latter, calling themselves Conservatives, voted with them on financial questions. In the following Congress, though the Whigs continued to gain, they did not secure a majority. But their gradual increase indicated the tendency in the public mind in favor of their political views. The Anti-slavery sentiment meanwhile was also increasing in the free-labor States, and in consequence a Liberty party was formed. This organization nominated (1839) national candidates—James G. Birney, of New York, for President, and Francis Le Moyne, of Pennsylvania, for the second place.

To prepare for the impending Presidential election the Whig National Convention met earlier than usual at Harrisburg (December 4, 1839), and nominated General William H. Harrison a second time for the office of President, and John Tyler, of Virginia, for the second place. The following May, the Democrats met in convention in Baltimore and unanimously renominated Mr. Van Buren, but made no nomination for Vice-president. Their platform was apparently a step backward. It denied the authority of the Constitution to aid internal improvements or protect manufactures, or to charter a National Bank. This platform of principles had the effect of rousing a more intense opposition among the Whigs, and also of influencing in the same direction a large number of progressive Democrats.

At the election the Whigs were overwhelmingly successful, the electoral votes being for Harrison, nearly 4 to 1. Here was a break in the control of the National Government by the Democracy, and it was brought about largely by the men within its own ranks who thought for themselves and refused to be trammeled in their action by the traditions of the party. Harrison was also supported by independent citizens of all classes.

The conduct of the canvass had been with far more than ordinary excitement, the greater portion of the people throughout the land having become so impressed with the importance of the principles at issue that their enthusiasm carried them triumphantly to the result. An immense concourse assembled at Washington from all parts of the country to witness the inauguration. But the Whig party was doomed to be sadly disappointed. One month after entering upon his duties President Harrison died, and, according to the Constitution, John Tyler assumed the office.

Tyler failed to carry out the principles on which he had been elected, gradually co-operated with the Democracy, and was charged by those who elected him with deliberately betraying the trust committed to his hand.

In order to aid in remedying the financial disorders of the country both Houses of Congress passed, with fair majorities, a bill to incorporate "The Fiscal Bank of the United States, which should facilitate exchanges throughout the Union." From this bill was carefully eliminated the Democratic objections to the old United States Bank, yet the President refused to give it his signature on the plea that it was unconstitutional. Another bill was passed, modified in its provisions in accordance with his own suggestions. This he also refused to sign. This double dealing of the President roused intense indignation in the party that had elevated him to the office.

Meanwhile the compromise tariff of 1833, with its decreasing sliding scale, was found insufficient to produce enough revenue to defray the current expenses of the Government. Congress attempted to remedy the evil by re-enacting the original tariff of that year. This bill was vetoed. Another bill was then prepared and passed, and it met the same fate. Finally a third was modified in such manner as to receive the President's signature. This was the noted tariff of 1842. These contests between the President and the Whig majority in Congress continued through his administration.

Another question which had an effect on parties was that of the annexation of Texas. To this the Whigs of the free-labor States were decidedly opposed, as it involved the extension of

slavery, while for that reason some of the Whigs of the slave-labor States favored the scheme. Here was an element that in due time insured a change in the relations of the existing political parties.

Another Presidential contest, that of 1844, was approaching, and the several nominations were made in the usual manner. The Liberty party was the first to move. Meeting in Buffalo (1843) it again nominated James G. Birney for President, and Thomas Morris, of Ohio, for the second place.

The Whigs held their National Convention at Baltimore, May 1, 1844. They announced their usual platform of principles, together with the distribution of the surplus revenue among the States. They nominated Henry Clay, of Kentucky, for the Presidency and Theodore Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, for the second place. The Democratic convention met also in Baltimore on May 27th, 1844. They still proclaimed themselves strict constructionists, but introduced some new articles of political faith—one demanding the reoccupation of Oregon up to 54° 40′ North latitude, and another the annexation of Texas. They nominated James K. Polk, of Tennessee, for the first place on the ticket and George M. Dallas, of Pennsylvania, for the second. The Democratic candidates were elected.

The Whig party was, politically speaking, the lineal descendant of the Federal, the leaders of which introduced and carried out, during the first twelve years of our Nation's life, that general policy of government which remains to this day. The Democratic party had its origin in the clubs formed for the express purpose of opposing the policy just mentioned. One was a party of construction and progress, the other of obstruction and reaction. The Democratic leaders held their followers in hand by means of caucuses and conventions; the rank and file implicitly obeyed and voted as directed. On the other hand, the Whig leaders never held the members of their party effectually in leading-strings. In his History of Political Parties (pages 5 and 6) that prince of party strategists, Martin Van Buren, says: "For more than half a century the Democratic party, whenever it has been *wise enough* to employ the caucus or convention system, has been successful." He sneers at the

"sagacious leaders" of the Federalists, and afterward of the Whigs, because of this lack of success in holding the members of their party in the voting lines.

A remarkable impulse was given to the diffusion of political knowledge by the anti-slavery agitation, which commenced about 1833. The vivid presentation of the subject by lectures and general discussions roused an interest that never flagged, but increased till the end was accomplished. This was especially the case in the free-labor States, but in the South such discussions were prohibited by the influence of the slave-holders, while the circulation of newspapers containing them was forbidden.

When President Polk assumed office (1845–1849) the terms for the annexation of Texas offered by the last administration had been accepted by the Texas Congress, and also by a convention elected by the people. This movement produced protests from Mexico, and threats of war on her part. A crisis was hastened by the advance of Gen. Zachary Taylor with a military force to the east bank of the Rio Grande, thus occupying a territory that was in dispute. It gave occasion to the first conflict of the Mexican war at Palo Alto (May 8, 1846). The Whigs disapproved of the war, as unnecessary, believing the end could be secured by negotiation. But they supported it till its conclusion. The North saw in its Democratic and pro-slavery backing the subtle purpose of strengthening the slave-power and of committing to its maintenance and supremacy the whole weight of the country and of its political administration.

The President asked for an appropriation to be applied in purchasing territory; this was granted, but the House inserted a condition "that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of said Territory, except for crime, whereof the party shall be duly convicted" (Aug. 1846). This was the famous "Wilmot proviso," thus designated from the name of the member who introduced it. For this proviso the northern Democratic members and the Whigs voted; the bill was sent to the Senate, but Congress adjourned before that body acted upon the measure.

The "Proviso" has become historical, as its passage in the House opened up the question of slavery in a new phase. To this proviso may be traced indirectly the breaking up of the Whig party. But it led to a greater and more influential combination of political elements. The entire slave-labor States were, with one voice, Whig and Democratic, opposed to the proviso. The result was that the Southern wing of the Whig party became thoroughly disorganized, while the Northern wing of the Democratic was much divided.

These discordant political elements took practical form in the impending Presidential canvass. On May 22, 1848, the Democratic National Convention met at Baltimore. It adopted the platforms of the two preceding conventions, and took care to reiterate its faith in strict construction. It nominated Lewis Cass, of Michigan, for the Presidency, and William O. Butler, of Kentucky, for the Vice-presidency. On June 7 the Whig Convention met in Philadelphia, and nominated Gen. Zachary Taylor, of Louisiana, and Millard Fillmore, of New York. For prudential reasons they adopted no platform.

There had grown up among certain Northern Democrats a strong sentiment against the extension of slavery into free territory, hence they had voted for the Wilmot Proviso. The Whigs and this portion of the Democratic party were not yet fully prepared to take decided ground on the slavery question. This portion of the latter party were indignant at the harsh manner in which Mr. Van Buren, their favorite, had been denied the renomination in the Convention of 1844. Two delegations had gone from New York to that Convention at Baltimore which nominated Mr. Cass. Both delegations were, however, admitted with the understanding that the vote of the State should be divided between them. It happened on account of some dissatisfaction that the delegation that was opposed to the extension of slavery into free territory withdrew from the Convention. After the nominations just mentioned were made, on August 9th these dissatisfied Democrats met in Convention at Buffalo, and assumed the party name of Free-soil Democrats. They nominated Mr. Van Buren for the office of President, and Charles Francis Adams of Massachusetts for

the second place. With this new organization the old Liberty party at once affiliated. The Whig nominees, Taylor and Fillmore, were elected.

Gen. Taylor was inaugurated President, March 5, 1849. He had been elected in consequence of the withdrawal of the Free-soil Democrats from the main body; Van Buren thus had his revenge. In less than a year Taylor died, and Fillmore became President.

The Free-soilers would not unite with the Whigs, because the latter had rejected the principle of the Wilmot Proviso; much less could they return to the old Democracy. The numbers of the latter had been increassd by accessions to their ranks of pro-slavery Whigs, which made up for the defection of the Free-soilers. Meanwhile the Whigs as a party organization were on the verge of dissolution. There was evidently a basis for a new political organization, the principles of which would be national in their character, and thus worthy of the support of thinking men everywhere who wished to unite in opposition to slavery itself or against its extension into free territory—the common property of the entire Nation. Influences were not long wanting which brought about the blending of these elements.

The accession to the Democratic ranks of the pro-slavery Whigs gave the former unusual prestige. It induced them to commence a series of aggressions in support of slavery and its extension, which roused opposition in the free-labor States. Even those who had hitherto been apparently indifferent on the subject gradually began to array themselves in that opposition. Self-constituted expounders commenced circulating the opinion among the slave-holders and their subservient pro-slavery friends in the free-labor States that the Constitution gave no authority to Congress to interfere with slavery in the Territories. From this followed the theory that the settlers therein had the sole right to control the matter. This was called Popular (vulgarly Squatter) Sovereignty. From this dogma the transition was easy to the conclusion that the Missouri Compromise of 1820 was unconstitutional and illegal, as it prohibited slavery north of 36° 30′; and that the people liv-

ing in such territory had a right to establish slavery or not as they chose. These doctrines and the exorbitant demands of the pro-slavery party continued to excite discussion, and brought the subject before the minds of multitudes in the free-labor States in an entirely different aspect. The humane sentiment abroad in these States was greatly in favor of freedom.

In the midst of this political excitement came the Compromise measures of 1850, one feature of which was the fugitive slave law—a law for restoring to their Southern masters runaway slaves who had escaped to the free States. This law, because of the exceeding harshness, injustice, and the cruelty with which it was enforced, produced in the free labor States intense indignation against the slave system itself. In the legislatures of a number of these States a counter-influence was developed in what were termed personal-liberty bills; these were designed to protect free negroes who might be accused of being runaway slaves.

On June 1, 1852, the Democratic National Convention met in Baltimore. The main feature of its platform was the indorsement of the resolutions of 1798; it also laid special stress upon the enforcement of the fugitive-slave law. The convention nominated Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire for the Presidency, and for the second place William R. King of Alabama. On the 16th of the same month the Whig National Convention also met in Baltimore. Apparently not to be outdone, it likewise indorsed the enforcement of the fugitive-slave law in equally vigorous terms. It nominated Gen. Winfield Scott of Virginia for the first place on the ticket, and William A. Graham of North Carolina for the second. These indorsements of that obnoxious law by both the leading parties prepared the minds of multitudes in the free-labor States to take part in a new and future political organization, that should oppose all these measures.

On August 11th the Free-soil Democratic Convention met in Pittsburgh. It took high moral ground on slavery as a sin against God and a crime against man, and also vigorously denounced the fugitive-slave law because of its injustice. The Convention nominated John P. Hale of New Hampshire, and

George W. Julian of Indiana. The election resulted in making Franklin Pierce President.

In the year of this presidential election appeared a new political party, its members being drawn from the two prominent ones, though up to the time of their sudden appearance as a political organization they had remained quietly in connection with their respective parties. From the first it was secret in its plans. When the members were asked concerning the nature of their society, they would uniformly profess ignorance, for they were bound by oath to keep the secrets of the order. The people in derision called them *Know Nothings*, but they themselves wished to be known as the *American Party*, whose motto was that "Americans should rule America." Their intention was to counteract the influence of foreigners in our elections, as the latter by their numbers held the balance of power, especially in the cities. To obviate this, the American Party wished to change the time required for a foreigner to be a resident of the Union before he could receive naturalization papers. They proposed that instead of five it should be twenty-one years. The organization met in secret and in like manner made its own nominations, or indorsed those made by either one of the two main parties, as the case might be, and they were thus able to decide a number of important elections.

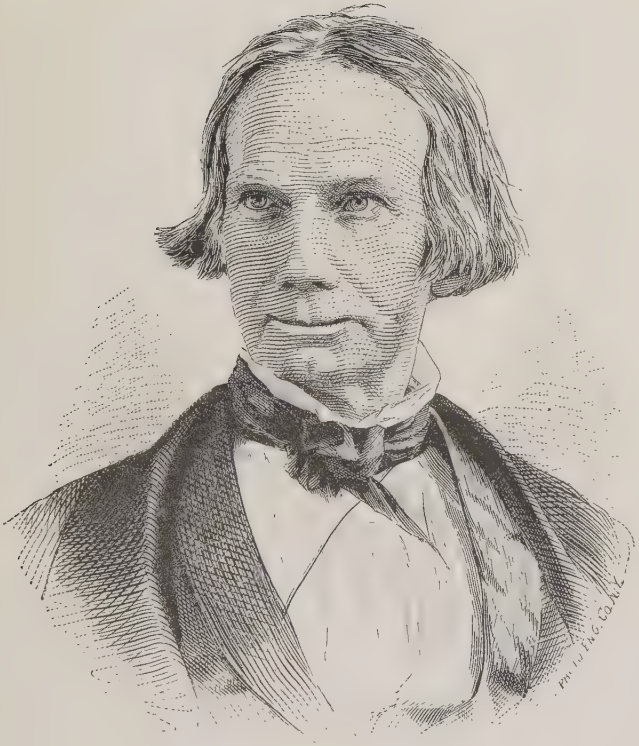
After its success in the election of President Pierce the slave-power appeared to be inspired with new vigor, and to act more arrogantly in its determination to extend slavery into the Territories, and to make it more stable where it already existed. At this distance of time it seems that the slave-holding politicians, in their aggressions at this point, were almost insane. They were indifferent to the fact that they were thereby creating throughout the free-labor States a sentiment of extreme enmity to the whole slave system.

The XXXIIId Congress met December 5, 1853. In its first week a bill was introduced into the Senate by Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois to organize the vast region now known as Kansas and Nebraska, as one Territory. The Senate was startled by the offer of an amendment to the effect that slavery was not prohibited in these Territories by the Missouri Com-

promise. Here was a new phase of an old subject. About a week later Mr. Douglas introduced another bill, but so modified it that, instead of one, the region was divided into two Territories — Kansas and Nebraska. In this bill was announced the theory that the Missouri Compromise was superseded by the Compromise of 1850, and that any Territory, no matter how situated, either south or north of the line of 36°, 30′ could reject or admit slavery, on becoming a State, as its inhabitants should decide. The Senate passed this bill, but it was opposed by the Free-soil Democrats and Northern Whigs. It then came to the House, which finally passed it, May, 1854. This action brought about the final separation of the Northern Whigs from the Southern. The former assumed the name of Anti-Nebraska Whigs; and the latter were identified with the Democratic party, both North and South.

And now the several elements outside the latter party were preparing to take a new departure in politics. The issue was reduced at last to the choice between slavery and freedom, a republic all free or a republic all subservient to the interest of human bondage. Some years were yet to elapse before this issue was to be definitely stated in the calm logic of Seward or the homely, overwhelming eloquence of Lincoln. But the political forces of the country were taking shape on this line as surely as the water runs to the sea. The Dred Scott decision, unutterably shocking to the high convictions of a liberty-loving people, showed that there was a tribunal in their hearts higher than that which sat on the Supreme bench. The failure of the poor compromises, on which expired the last flickers of the genius of Webster and Clay, was the presage of the mighty groundswell of a tide that swept away compromise and policy before the resistless forces of right and justice. Henceforth for a generation the Democratic party was to undergo the humiliation of identification with a bankrupt treasury, an impaired industrial enterprise and growth, a disintegrating union, a doughface surrender to Southern and slave-power exaction, and resistance to the reconstruction of the Republic and to the restoration and maintenance of its high financial credit and security. And henceforth was to come into

existence and into the most glorious career ever exhibited in political history, the Republican party; snatching from the blundering, incompetent, palsied, and in some instances disloyal hands of its great rival the torn and imperiled Republic; preserving the union of her States; throttling treason; putting under heel the most gigantic of rebellions; abolishing slavery; making millions of bondmen free; meeting and discharging every pecuniary obligation; reconstructing the disordered constellation of national stars; paying an enormous national debt with a rapidity that has started the whole world into acclamations of praise; taxing its people without burdening or oppressing them; reducing the exactions of taxation with exquisite adjustment to the necessities of the occasion; providing munificently for its veteran soldiers; developing, under a system of protection to its industries and labor, its resources of national wealth and growth with a success that has swept the United States beyond any other nation on the earth in these respects and made it a paradise of home as it is of freedom. This party has from the first embodied the progress, reform, education, and national prosperity of the people, as against the obstruction of all these and the reaction from them. And the student who examines the history of parties antecedent to its existence, will find that the lines on which it diverges from its competitor are lines which run through the whole political history of the Republic back to the beginning. On one side the narrow, strict, and retarding spirit; on the other the liberal, broad, and progressive spirit. On the one side the obstructive "You can't;" on the other the inspiring "You can." On the one side the bondage which slavery not more surely laid on the personal freedom of the black man than upon the public spirit and enterprise of his master; still later, even to this day, the manifestation of the same restricted spirit in its hesitation to give to the New South the same splendid development of its resources which the "American System" has given to the North; worst of all, the violence that still robs, whether by force or trick, the citizen of his rights at the ballot-box. On the other side the reverse of all this. It is an ancient divergence, something that springs from the



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constitutional make-up of the individual. But a growing development brings the assurance that the lessons of the past are not lost; that the results of the great struggle are to be honestly accepted; that the Nation is stronger than ever before in its great fraternity; and that, however much we may differ in name, history will record that as the liberal construction which our fathers gave the Constitution has been the accepted policy of the Nation, so the spirit which in these later days the Republican party has infused into its national life—the spirit of growth and human equality—the spirit of an enlightened and enlivened Americanism—the spirit of Hamilton, Clay, Webster, Lincoln, Grant, and Garfield—is the true spirit of the American Republic, now and henceforward.

RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY: 1856–1888.

By Hon. Edward McPherson, of Pa.

In order to understand what the Republican party has done, it is necessary to understand the conditions which called it into being, the purposes to which it devoted itself, the problems which successively confronted it, and the methods by which it proceeded to solve them.

As a national organization it first appeared in 1856. The anti-slavery sentiment which it finally embodied first made manifestation in 1840, as a "Liberty" party, which polled for candidates who had declined their nomination 7,059 votes—a handful in twelve of the States.

By 1844, as a result of the proposed and pending annexation of Texas with the avowed purpose of enlarging the area and the political power of slavery, this vote grew to 62,300 in thirteen States, upon a platform which demanded "the absolute and unqualified divorce of the General Government from slavery, and also the restoration of equality of rights, among men, in every State." Of this aggregate, its candidates received 15,812 votes in New York, 10,860 in Massachusetts, and 8,050 in Ohio.

By 1848, Texas having been annexed and the Mexican War fought, an overshadowing issue arose: Upon what principle should the territory wrested from Mexico be engrafted into our system? The "Free Democracy" planted themselves "upon the national platform of Freedom, in opposition to the sectional platform of Slavery." They declared that "Congress has no more power to make a slave than to make a king; no more power to institute or establish slavery than to institute or establish a monarchy." They accepted the issue which the

"slave power has forced upon us; and to the demand for more slave States and more slave territory," their calm but final answer was, "No more slave States and no more slave territory." But they "proposed no interference by Congress with slavery within the limits of any State." In that election, on that platform of principles, the distinctive anti-slavery vote, which had increased eight-fold between 1840 and 1844, now increased four-fold more and reached an aggregate of 291,263 votes in eighteen States. Its candidate, Martin Van Buren, a Democratic ex-President, cut in twain the Democracy of the Empire State, of Massachusetts, and of Vermont, and took the larger share for himself. He nearly equaled the regular Democratic vote in Wisconsin, and he largely swelled his vote over Birney's in 1844, in all the States of the North.

By 1852, the Clay Compromise measures of 1850 had been enacted. They admitted California as a free State. They provided governments for the remaining territory acquired from Mexico, and gave to these governments in the Territories legislative power over "all rightful subjects of legislation consistent with the Constitution of the United States and the provisions of this act." The slave trade was prohibited within the District of Columbia, and a new fugitive-slave law was passed which provided officers of the United States for its execution. These provisions covered all the outstanding questions in controversy, and were passed under the claim that they "settled" every existing phase of the slavery question.

Both of the great parties of the country accepted and ratified them as such. The Whigs accepted them as a "settlement in principle and substance of the dangerous and exciting questions which they embrace." They pledged themselves to their maintenance and enforcement. They deprecated all further agitation of the question thus settled as "dangerous to our peace." And they promised "to maintain this system as essential to the nationality of the Whig party and the integrity of the Union." The Democrats declared a purpose to "abide by, and adhere to, a faithful execution of the acts known as the Compromise measures settled by the last Congress." They further resolved that they "will resist all attempts at renewing

in Congress, or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made." The "Free Democracy," under the candidacy of John P. Hale, advanced their lines beyond the points fixed in 1848 by the more sagacious Van Buren. They declared "slavery to be a sin against God, and a crime against man, which no human enactment nor usage can make right; and that Christianity, humanity, and patriotism alike demand its abolition." They demanded the "immediate repeal of the fugitive-slave law." And they declared the Compromise measures of 1850 "as a wholly inadequate settlement of the questions of which they are claimed to be an adjustment." Upon this platform the anti-slavery vote fell to 155,825. The losses were very large except in the States of Massachusetts and Vermont, in which their vote was about two-thirds of that polled in 1848, when Mr. Van Buren limited the demand to the one point, "No more slave States and no more slave territory," coupled with the other explicit declaration that no interference by Congress with slavery within the limits of any State was proposed.

The election in 1852 was conclusive of the willingness of the country to accept the Compromise measures of 1850 as a "final adjustment" of the whole slave controversy. Of the 3,143,679 votes cast, 2,987,854 were cast for candidates of the two great parties which had indorsed the "settlement." Only 155,825 votes were cast for the candidates pledged against it. While these measures were pending in Congress, public sentiment was much divided upon them. The measures combined as a whole had actually been defeated in the Senate. But they subsequently passed both houses as separate enactments. A considerable portion of the governing class in the South had resisted them in both forms, as not sufficiently promoting and protecting the interests which clustered about slavery.

Large masses of people in the North had opposed them in both forms, as yielding too much to a clamorous and growingly aggressive slavery propagandism. But the pending bills had, at last, become laws of the Union, under circumstances which precluded the possibility of change within any reasonable period. Many causes combined to induce acquiescence. Whether

wisely or unwisely passed, they were upon the statute-books, were in process of execution, were creating rights, were a part of the machinery of government. As done, the practical American applied to the situation the testing question: Is it wiser to accept what may be good in them, trusting to time for overcoming or modifying the evil, or to join in an agitation for repeal which must needs be protracted, and most probably futile? The popular instinct was well-nigh universal. Besides, this question was the only national question which threatened to prove a source of national weakness. Danger lurked in it, and the timid naturally yielded to the situation. In addition, there was a passionate longing for rest from these turmoils; and the way to reach it appeared to be the acceptance of this "settlement," to which great names had given a sort of sanctity. It was represented that the Missouri Compromise of 1820 had settled the *status* of slavery in the unorganized territory purchased from France; that this Compromise of 1850 had settled the *status* of slavery in all the territory gained from Mexico; that, besides, all the minor issues growing out of slavery had also been adjusted; and that, with this Compromise accepted, the country could, with confidence, look forward for years to restful and happy progress. This reasoning prevailed. The Democratic party, which had been voted out of power in 1848, was again restored, because it appeared to be more closely identified with these measures and therefore more worthy to be trusted with the duty of maintaining them. Its candidate had a popular plurality of nearly a quarter of a million of votes, and, having carried every State but four, the enormous majority of 212 in the electoral college. After such a verdict, the country gave attention to the material interests of the hour, supposing that its right to "have peace" had been fully won.

THE REPEAL OF THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE.

Never was confidence more ruthlessly betrayed. Within one year from the inauguration of the President then and thus elected, the country was, by his consent, involved in a more violent agitation than ever—one which increased constantly in bitterness and breadth, and which ceased not till the guilty

cause of it was torn out of the National Constitution by a wronged and wearied people.

President Pierce in his first annual message, in December, 1853, spoke of the Compromise measures of 1850 as "having given renewed vigor to our institutions and restored a sense of repose and security to the public mind throughout the country." This was literally true. He then added this pledge: "That this repose is to suffer no shock during my official term, if I have power to avert it, those who placed me here may be assured." Within two months this voluntary pledge was deliberately broken, and the Congress was engaged, with the active approval of the Pierce administration, in attempting to repeal the Missouri Compromise of 1820, which had been passed under circumstances of equal solemnity with the Compromise of 1850, and which had provided that in all that territory of the Louisiana purchase "lying north of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes, north latitude, slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall be and is hereby forever prohibited." For thirty years this Compromise had stood, and States had been admitted under it: Arkansas on the south of the line, Iowa on the north of it. Besides, Missouri, though north of the line, had at the time been admitted as a slave State. Thus the South had in hand two States, besides Louisiana, as the fruit of that compact. The North had one. And the time having come for the organization of territorial governments in Kansas and Nebraska, the South now proposed to "annul" that compact, refuse to keep its faith of 1820, reaffirmed in 1836 and 1845, and to make it an open question whether Kansas and Nebraska should not be added to the Union as slave States, although by the Compromise they were pledged to be organized as free Territories.

This odious breach of faith had, up to that time, been without a parallel in our history. They who were guilty of it winced under the damaging imputation. Their only excuse was the flimsy assumption that the Missouri Compromise of 1820 was a "monument of error," a "beacon of warning," and a "dead letter in law" which deserved to be expunged from the statute-

book. And the country was also kindly informed that, "in the progress of constitutional inquiry and reflection, it had come to be seen clearly now that Congress does not possess power to impose restrictions of this character."

The moral sense of the country was not appeased by these crafty suggestions, nor could it reconcile itself to the deception practiced upon it by the Pierce administration. The Democratic party had solemnly promised to keep the peace on this question. A credulous public had believed it, though but eight years had passed since the same party had, under like circumstances, showed how lightly it regarded a public pledge.

In 1844 the Democratic party resolved that our title to the whole of the Territory of Oregon is "clear and unquestionable;" that no portion of the same ought to be "ceded to England" or any other power; and that "the re-occupation of Oregon is a great American measure, which this convention recommends to the cordial support of the Democracy of the Union." But within fifteen months after the inauguration of the Democratic President elected on that platform, its President "ceded to England" five degrees and forty minutes of territory to which this resolution and his inaugural declared our title to be "clear and unquestionable." Thereby this country lost an ocean-front on the Pacific extending from the northern line of Washington Territory half way up to Alaska, and "ceded to England" a stretch of country lying between the Pacific Ocean and the Rocky Mountains equal in breadth to both the great States of New York and Pennsylvania. The same Administration which meekly "ceded to England," in violation of its pledge, this splendid region on our northern borders picked a quarrel with Mexico about a strip of land on our southern borders, between the rivers Nueces and Rio Grande, and made war upon Mexico rather than yield a tithe of the untenable pretensions of Texas to ownership. The surrender and the seizure were alike made in the interest and at the dictation of slavery, to the body of which when living, and to the spirit of which since dead, the Democratic party has for half a century given an idolatrous devotion.

Of a piece with that betrayal was this betrayal. What Polk

did Pierce did; and both, because the same hard master ordered. To it the Missouri Compromise of 1820 was offensive. Therefore that time-honored act was declared "void." This was a marked decline from the policy of the fathers—from 1787 under Jefferson, when Congressional prohibition of the extension of slavery beyond limits then existing was the rule. By 1820 a "Compromise" was made, and a territorial line was applied to the territory then in controversy. North of it slavery was to be prohibited. But in making this "Compromise," Congress asserted its power over the territorial phase of the question.

By 1850, Congress declared that the territorial legislative power extended to all "rightful subjects of legislation." But by 1854, Congress declined to make any declaration except that the purpose of the act of 1850, as of this act, was "not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States." It proceeded to declare "inoperative and void" the Missouri Compromise of 1820, which had prohibited slavery in the Territories north of the line of 36° 30′—the use of the words "inoperative and void" implying that the act referred to had been passed without constitutional authority. The declaration above referred to was a deceptive jumble, and was meant so to be. It lacked every element of distinctness and of directness. It purposely confounded two very different things. It treated as one two very different questions. It applied in terms equally to Territories and to States. But the act had nothing to do with States, their rights and powers. It had to do exclusively with Territories, their rights and powers. Yet it brazenly recited its "true intent and meaning" as alike applying to "any Territory or State." The trick is apparent. The purpose was, by using the words "or State," to throw the admitted fact of slavery's inviolability in States into the scale to strengthen the theory of its claimed inviolability in Territories. So tortuous and cunning were the methods to compass this coveted design.

"The people" of each Territory, like "the people" of each State, were dogmatically announced as authorized to regulate

for themselves all "domestic institutions," of which slavery was one. But there was upon this power one limitation.

The action was to be subject "only to the Constitution of the United States." There inhered in this clause another difficulty. When, and how, were "the people" of a Territory held to have the power to exclude? Did it exist in the first political organization within it? Did it exist in any political organization within it prior to the calling of a convention to make a constitution for submission to Congress, preparatory to admission to the Union? The act did not say. If not, had slave-owners a constitutional right to take their slaves into the Territories and hold them as such, under the Constitution, in the absence of a local law? If so, had not slavery then become in every sense a "national" institution? And was there, therefore, anywhere a practical power to prevent the turning into slave Territories all the Territories of the Union now existing or hereafter to exist? These were momentous questions; and they came home to multitudes of people who, having no sentiment on the subject of slavery, had a deep personal unwillingness to be brought into relation with it. Yet, under this act, how could they escape this if they sought to make a home in any Territory of the Union? The question therefore became a practical one: Should the "soil of our extensive domains be kept free for the hardy pioneers of our own land and the oppressed and banished of other lands seeking homes of comfort and fields of enterprise in the New World," or should they be reserved for the exclusive and repelling use of the slave-masters of the Union?

There was another noticeable dishonesty in the act of 1854. It purported that the act of 1850, as of 1854, required the invalidation of the Missouri Compromise. This was an untrue assumption. "The Compromise measures of 1850 contain no words to repeal or invalidate the Missouri Compromise. On the contrary, they expressly recognize it in the act providing for the cession of a portion of Texas to New Mexico." * Besides, up to that period, the repeal of that Compromise had

* Buchanan's Administration, p. 28.

been demanded by no authority in the Union, respectable or other. Even Mr. Calhoun, in his extremest moments, had never indicated that such a measure was required as a concession to either Southern pride or interest. And, as Mr. Buchanan declared after his retirement from office, the Southern Senators and Representatives who sustained the repeal of this "covenant of peace between the free and slave-holding States" themselves "became the aggressors." *

THE STRUGGLE IN KANSAS.

The direct effect of the doubt above indicated was what might have been expected. Congressional legislation, settling, by a clear provision, the law in relation to the subject of slavery to be operative in the Territory while it remained such, had been enacted as to thirteen Territories which were then thirteen States. This uniform and prudent precedent had been broken. In its place was put what was called "popular sovereignty." But "popular sovereignty" bewitchingly expounded in the marble halls of Congress was quite a different thing from "popular sovereignty" expounded by Border Ruffians on the bleak plains of Kansas. Missouri, at once upon the passage of the bill, roused itself to compel the establishment of slavery in Kansas, its immediate neighbor on the west. As soon as the passage of the act became known on the border, leading citizens of Missouri crossed into the Territory of Kansas, held "squatter meetings," and returned to Missouri. The resolutions passed and published sufficiently avouch their purposes, reveal their instincts, and indicate their methods. One resolve was that "we will afford protection to no abolitionist as a settler in this Territory." This was the "popular sovereignty" idea as applied in Kansas in 1854. "No protection."

These were the bewitching words with which free-State men, no matter from what State or section, were greeted as they migrated to Kansas as "settlers." And the men who thus greeted these "settlers" were Missourians who did not propose to be "settlers," except long enough to fasten slavery upon the

* Same, p. 28.

region. "No protection." These words have rung along all the years from 1854 through the Ku Klux days of 1875 to the present time, and they embody, better than any other phrase, the inner nature and the outward life of the criminal Democracy. "No protection" to political foes. Under this sign, and by all which it implies, have they conquered whatever they have gained since 1865. Another resolve of the Missourians who sojourned overnight in Kansas was that we "recognize the institution of slavery as already existing in this Territory, and advise slaveholders to introduce their property as early as possible." Like resolutions were passed in various parts of the Territory and in several counties in Missouri. At once all slaveholding Missouri was on its feet. The free States of the West and North resolved that Slavery should get no benefit from its refusal to carry out the Missouri Compromise. And a contest which finally assumed somewhat the character of a civil war made Kansas bloody ground. Missouri had the advantage of nearness and of ample means for enforcing its demands. The free States were distant, and could with difficulty reach Kansas at all, and then chiefly by going over the territory of Missouri.

In May, 1854, the Territorial Act was passed, and soon after the Pierce administration sent out a governor, judge, and other officers. The first election occurred in November, 1854. A delegate to Congress was voted upon. At that election, 1,114 legal votes were cast, and 1,729 illegal.* The next election, in March, 1855, was for members of the legislative assembly of the Territory. At that election, Missouri, by concerted movement, sent armed men from Andrew County in the north and Jasper County in the south, and as far eastward as Boone and Cole counties, into every council district in the Territory of Kansas, and into every representative district save one. At that election, 1,310 legal votes were cast, and 4,968 illegal.† The fraud was large, but the stake was large—the possession of the law-making machinery of the Territory. The pro-slavery candidates received 5,427 votes, the opposition but 791.

* See Report of Special Committee of the House of Representatives, 34th Cong. 1st. Sess. No. 200, p. 8.

† See same, p. 30.

Thus Missouri chose for Kansas its first legislative assembly. That assembly reciprocated the favor by enacting a law prescribing hard labor for not less than two years for any one who dared to discuss the question whether slavery exists or does not exist in Kansas. And a like penalty was imposed upon any free person who introduced into the Territory any book, paper, magazine, pamphlet, or circular containing any denial of the right of persons to hold Slaves in the Territory of Kansas. Missouri's slave code was transplanted to Kansas by a stroke of the pen; and a body of laws was passed which can be most fittingly described in the words applied to them by Senator John M. Clayton of Delaware. In a speech in the United States Senate he described them as "unjust, iniquitous, oppressive, and infamous." He demanded that Congress repeal them. But they did not shock the steady nerves of the Pierce administration, whose master-spirit was Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War. It threw all its influence in aid of the lawlessness which struck down in that Territory every muniment of liberty. For every such wrong ready excuse was found. For every resentment of it ready censure was given. The Nation was wrought up as it had never been, over the fraud of "popular sovereignty" as thus administered; and while the contest was raging, the country approached the Presidential election of 1856 under circumstances of unusual gravity.

ORGANIZATION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

In that year the Republican party took in the national arena the conspicuous place which it had in local contests already won among the political forces of the country. Its principles were plainly declared. Its purposes found no concealment. They needed none. Its policies were beyond the possibility of misunderstanding. Not one of its principles has ever been abandoned. Not one of its purposes has ever been given up. Not a measure of its policies has ever been hid under a bushel. It has never made a pledge which it has not kept; never had a policy which was not for the public good; and it never lowered its flag in the presence of a foe. Where

it stood in 1856 it stands to-day, except as accomplished facts have removed issues, or as progressive measures have superseded old forms of issues. It is, both in the purity of its doctrines, the beneficent sweep of its measures, in its courage, its steadfastness, its fidelity, in its achievements and in its example, the most resplendent political organization the world has ever known.

The leading features in the Platform of 1856 were:

First. The maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution as essential to the preservation of our republican institutions.

Second. The preservation of the Federal Constitution.

Third. The preservation of the rights of the States.

Fourth. The preservation of the Union of the States.

Fifth. Denial of the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature, of any individual or association of individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States. Hence, opposition to the extension of slavery into free territory.

Sixth. The right and duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism—polygamy and slavery.

Seventh. Arraignment of the Pierce administration, the President, his advisers, agents, supporters, apologists, and accessories, for their high crime in Kansas against the Constitution, the Union and humanity, and a fixed purpose to bring the actual perpetrators of those atrocious outrages and their accomplices to a sure and condign punishment hereafter.

Eighth. Demand for the immediate admission of Kansas as a State in the Union with her present free constitution.

Ninth. Immediate and efficient aid in the construction of a railroad to the Pacific Ocean.

Tenth. Appropriation by Congress for the improvement of rivers and harbors of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of our existing commerce.

Eleventh. Restoring the action of the Federal Government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson.

The Democratic National Convention again went through the form of pledging that party to "resist all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made." It approved the principle on which the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 was based, viz.: non-interference of Congress with slavery in the Territories or in the District of Columbia. It recognized the right of the people of Kansas, "acting through the legally and fairly expressed will of the majority of the actual residents, and whenever the number of their inhabitants justifies it, to form a Constitution, with or without domestic slavery, and be admitted into the Union upon terms of perfect equality with the other States." On its Southern side it adopted as "one of the main foundations of its political creed" the principles laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1798. On its Northern side it adopted the principles of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, "as embodying the only sound and safe solution of the slavery question." John C. Fremont was the Republican candidate. James Buchanan was the Democratic candidate.

At that election over 4,000,000 votes were cast, being an increase over 1852 of about thirty per cent. The Whig party, which in 1852 had polled nearly a million and a half of votes, had not survived that disastrous defeat, and upon its ruins in the free States had sprung the Republican organization, which in this its first campaign snatched from the victorious Democracy of 1852 the States of Connecticut, Iowa, Maine, Michigan, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio, Rhode Island, and Wisconsin. Besides, it swelled in Massachusetts the Scott plurality of 8,114 to a Fremont plurality of 68,950, and in Vermont the Scott plurality of 9,129 to a Fremont plurality of 28,992. Of the sixteen free States, only California, Illinois, Indiana, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania remained Democratic. And of these the combined opposition was greater than the Democratic vote in California, in Illinois, and in New Jersey; and Mr. Buchanan's majority over the entire opposition was less than 2,000 in Indiana, and slightly over 1,000 in Pennsylvania. The total Republican vote in 1856 in the sixteen free States was but 46,510

less than the Scott vote of 1852 in all the States. And the total opposition vote exceeded the total Democratic vote by 377,629. Mr. Buchanan was thus a minority President on the popular vote, though he had a plurality of 60 in the Electoral College. Four years before, there was a Democratic popular majority of 58,769, and an Electoral College majority of 212. These figures sufficiently show the extent of popular discontent. There was throughout the North profound unrest.

PRESIDENT BUCHANAN'S ELECTION.

The repose of 1852 had passed away—not to return till, after four years of flagrant war, the country was brought, by Republican sagacity and power, to reverse its tendencies, to forsake the dubious and devious paths which it had found full of pitfalls, and to place its feet firmly upon the bed-rock of eternal justice, where only can there be safety and peace.

Mr. Buchanan had been elected. What did his election signify? No one surely knew. His platform of principles did not definitely touch the vital point of the controversy. His letter of acceptance avoided it. During the campaign he merged himself, as he expressed it, in the platform, and he gave no further sign.

The world knew what Republican policy was. It was precise. It contained nothing equivocal. It stood by the ancient landmarks. It maintained the principles of the uniform and unbroken precedents which had steadily treated slavery as a "local" institution having only "local" rights, as dependent for security upon "local" legislation, and as in no sense a "national" institution, intrenched in the Constitution, and therefore unassailable, with a right of habitation everywhere within the Nation's jurisdiction save where excluded by constitution and law from States. On the other hand, the Democratic platform was, as usual, intentionally ambiguous. The words were that the people of a Territory were entitled to form a constitution preliminary to admission into the Union when they had the requisite population, with or without slavery. But that was mere truism. The pinch was whether, Congress having failed to declare on the subject, there was anywhere a local power to exclude slavery from a Territory

while the territorial condition lasted. This, the vital point at issue, the Democratic jugglers shirked, lest the election of their nominees might be imperiled. By this familiar form of fraud the Presidency became theirs. But the victory was the costliest which slavery had ever won. For out of it came utter and irremediable overthrow.

THE DRED SCOTT "OPINION."

The steps in the descent were rapid. The first was the determination to enforce, within the Democratic ranks, that interpretation of the Kansas-Nebraska Act which denied to the people of the Territory any power while a Territory to prohibit slavery, and which asserted that the Constitution of the United States, by its own vigor, secured to every slave-owner the right to plant his peculiar "domestic institution" in every Territory of the Union, irrespective of the local popular will. For this the aid of the Supreme Court was invoked; and a pending case was made the occasion of the celebrated Dred Scott opinion.

This "opinion" was pronounced March 6, 1857, on the second day after the inauguration of the newly-elected President. In his Inaugural, Mr. Buchanan spoke of the point involved as of "little practical importance," though, as a matter of fact, it involved the existence or non-existence of slavery in all the Territories of the Union. Therefore it involved the extension of slavery over all the new States of the Union. Mr. Buchanan said that the question would be "speedily and finally settled." He did not say that he did not know how the point would be decided. He did not say that he knew how it would be decided. But, under cover of giving his own present view, he stated the opinion as it was actually announced two days later.

The case was first argued in December, 1855, fifteen months before. Upon it the court had, by a majority in due course of business, reached a conclusion, and Judge Nelson was instructed to prepare the opinion which, disposing of the case by an examination of the merits in the light of the facts agreed upon by the parties under the plea in bar of the action, affirmed the judgment of the Circuit Court. After the Presidential election of 1856, namely, on the 18th of December, 1856, a re-

argument was, by procurement, effected; when a majority of the court, under the manipulation of Mr. Justice Wayne of Georgia, were "persuaded" to change their opinion, and at once to hold that the Circuit Court had no jurisdiction of the case, and then to decide a constitutional question which arose only on the plea to the merits of the action.

The "opinion" held that the act of Congress (the Missouri Act of 1820) "which prohibits a citizen from holding and owning property of this kind in the Territory north of the line herein mentioned is not warranted by the Constitution, and is therefore void." The "opinion" further held that as Congress cannot do this, it could not authorize a territorial government to exercise the power, "for it could confer no power on any local government, established by its authority, to violate the provisions of the Constitution." Thus the desired point was supposed to have been reached. Control over the extension of the area of slavery was denied to Congress, and to any and every Territory; and its right to indefinite expansion was declared by a majority of the Supreme Court to be implied in the very terms of the Constitution. Thenceforth slavery was ordained to be the irreversible law of the Republic. The "opinion" both surprised and shocked the country. It did not allay discontent —rather increased it. It added a new element—indignation that the Supreme Court should have forced itself into the maelstrom of politics. The court was not required to go into it. On the other hand, it soon became known that the original ground taken by the court was entirely different from the ground finally taken by it. Republicans were indignant. But many who were not of that faith dissented as strongly as they from an "opinion" which sought to reverse the currents of American thought, to overturn a line of precedents which stretched back to the foundation of the government, and to bring into contempt the opinions and acts of the Fathers and Founders. That this view of the facts was justified is apparent from the disclosure made since the death of the eminent Justice Benjamin R. Curtis, that the action of the court in first deciding this case upon one ground and then consenting to reopen it and deciding it upon a different and inconsistent one,

with an evident purpose to exert their power in aid of partisan movements, had so destroyed his confidence in the court, and his willingness to co-operate with them, that he tendered to the President his resignation as a member of the court.* He did not meet with them again after the close of that term.

From the beginning, the Supreme Court has inspired mixed feelings. Associated with public respect for it has been an anxious watchfulness—the result of a consciousness of its great power over the institutional development of the country. Thomas Jefferson, within six years of his death, compared the court to a body of "sappers and miners," and criticised its work in "construing our Constitution from a co-ordination of a general and special government to a general and supreme one alone." In 1822, Richard M. Johnson, a Senator from Kentucky, in a formal speech in the Senate, delivered fourteen years before his election to the Vice-Presidency, in favor of a constitutional amendment aimed at the powers of the Supreme Court, placed on record his opinion that the "history of the government furnishes nothing that can induce us to look with a very favorable eye to the Federal Judiciary as a safe depository of our liberties."

President Jackson, in his veto of the Bank bill, held that "the authority of the Supreme Court must not be permitted to control the Congress or the Executive when acting in their legislative capacities, but to have only such influence as the force of their reasoning may deserve." Other like authorities had, in a period of years, taught the people to watch with jealous care the trend of that Court when dealing with questions which touched the powers of the various branches of the government, or the rights of the people, or the security of free institutions. And when this tremendous stride was taken, which not only destroyed the power of the direct representatives of the whole people to determine an overshadowing question of public policy, but undertook, by an opinion in which but two of the nine judges concurred "in all its points, reasonings, and conclusions," though seven of the nine concurred in the particular

* See Curtis's Life of Curtis, 247.

judgment entered, to revolutionize public law and to give slavery a home in every Territory independently of the will of the community inhabiting the Territory, the wrath of the people rose against it, the Supreme Court was itself discredited, and the concurring judges bore, to their death, a burden of obloquy. The "opinion" reacted upon the cause in whose interest it was made, and sharply intensified the continuing agitation.

One cordial voice, however, greeted it. It was the voice of the Executive of the Nation. President Buchanan had long held to the view that Congress possessed the power which it had repeatedly exercised, and which the Dred Scott "opinion" denounced. But he made haste to accept the new gospel and tender it to the country as a cure-all for the evils of the political situation. He informed Congress, February 2, 1858, when transmitting the Lecompton Constitution, that "Slavery exists in Kansas by virtue of the Constitution of the United States." And he urged Congress to admit the State into the Union at once, under the transmitted constitution. On the forefront of that instrument was the promise that the "right of property is before and higher than any constitutional sanction, and the right of the owner of a slave in Kansas to such a slave and its increase is the same and as inviolable as the right of the owner of any property whatever." But the people of Kansas by a majority of 10,000 votes, at a special election thereon, refused to accept admission in that way, and they remained in a territorial condition until after the Presidential election of 1860. The State was admitted January 29, 1861, under a "free State" constitution, and what President Buchanan in his message of February 2, 1858, denounced as the "treasonable pertinacity" of the people in resisting the fraud and violence used to force slavery on them was at last rewarded.

Meantime the contest in Kansas continued. The struggle for supremacy was seen to be between two widely different civilizations, and was marked by every form of bitterness. The State was, in a sense, a camp. United States troops were required to preserve a semblance of order. One territorial governor after another, sent out by the Administration, found himself unable to carry out the policy required by the Administra-

tion, and resigned. The controversies spread to every neighborhood, in the North and in the South. The North smarted under a sense of injury, the South under a fear of loss of power. To the one the Dred Scott "opinion" had come as a blow which angered; to the other, as a touch which incited lust of dominion. Under such circumstances, and in complications of a portentous character, all dating from the fateful repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the Presidential election of 1860 summoned the country to a momentous duty.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1860.

The Republican National Convention in its declaration of principles did not advance beyond the lines fixed in 1856.

In one respect it made a more emphatic utterance. In 1856 it declared for the preservation of the "right of the States." In 1860 it defined more clearly its position. It declared that "the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends." It added a denunciation of the "reckless extravagance which pervades every department" of the Buchanan administration. It pronounced for "such an adjustment of imposts as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country." It demanded the use of the public lands for actual settlers, and a complete "homestead measure." The key-notes of its position were the assertion that slavery was a "purely local interest," and the denial that the "personal relation between master and servant involved an unqualified property in persons."

The Democratic National Convention broke into two factions; but the difference was more as to persons than things. For the Douglas wing, after re-affirming the double-faced Cincinnati resolutions of 1856, added a declaration that the measure of restriction imposed by the Federal Constitution on the power of a territorial legislature over the subject of the domestic relations when finally determined by the Supreme Court of the United States "should be respected by all good citizens,

and enforced with promptness and fidelity by every branch of the General Government." This was regarded as an acquiescence, more or less frank, in the Dred Scott "opinion." The Breckenridge wing on the other hand, distinctly denied the power of Congress or a territorial legislature to impair the security of slave "property" in any of the Territories, and as distinctly asserted the duty of the Federal Government in all its departments to protect such rights in the Territories.

Thus, all parties agreed as to the complete and exclusive control of the States over slavery within their limits. As to slavery in the Territories, the Republicans affirmed the Congressional right and duty to prohibit. The Douglas Democrats held to the doctrine of Congressional non-interference, and to a popular sovereignty power in the Territories subject to the Constitution as construed by the Supreme Court. And the Breckenridge Democrats asserted the inviolability of the slaveholders' rights except as limited by State constitutions. A divided Democracy polled 2,223,110 votes. The Republicans polled 1,866,452 votes. A third party, "Constitutional Union," whose candidate was John Bell, polled 590,631 votes. But in the Electoral College, Abraham Lincoln received 180 out of 302 votes, and was elected. He was in a minority on the popular vote of 947,289 votes. He carried every Northern State except New Jersey, in which he received four electoral votes and John Bell three. Douglas carried Missouri alone. Bell carried Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia, and Breckinridge the remaining fourteen States. Lincoln was therefore the constitutionally elected President, though his party was in a larger minority of the popular vote than any other successful candidate had ever been. His declared policy involved resistance only to the indefinite extension of slavery over the Territories of the Union. It involved interference with slavery in no State in the Union. And his election was due to divisions among his adversaries—divisions which were fostered by a disunion interest in the South with a view to produce the result which had been reached, and thus to furnish the occasion for secession and separation. Their act was doubly perfidious—an act of perfidy to their party, and an act of treachery to their country.

THE SECESSION MOVEMENT.

The election occurred on the 6th day of November, 1860. By the 7th of November, the machinery for promoting the secession of all the slave States was put in motion, and by the 18th of February, 1861, two weeks before the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln as President of the United States, Jefferson Davis had been elected and inaugurated as President of the "Confederate States," had organized his Cabinet, and had prepared himself for the issue which had been made by them with the United States.

It is now known that this movement was not made without careful consideration and calculation of probable results. It is also known that it was made in the full conviction that friends of slavery in the North would not permit the new Administration to use force to overcome it.

This conviction was based upon personal assurances of which some proofs remain. For instance, there was found in the Mississippi home of Jefferson Davis, when captured by our troops, a letter from ex-President Franklin Pierce, written from the Clarendon Hotel, New York City, during the year before (on January 6, 1860), in which he says that he has never believed that actual disruption of the Union could occur without blood, and that if that dire calamity should come through the madness of Northern abolitionism, the fighting will not be along Mason and Dixon's line merely, "but within our own borders, in our own streets," between those who respect their political obligations and those who have apparently no impelling power but that which fanatical passion on the subject of domestic slavery imparts.

The Democracy of Philadelphia, at a meeting on the 16th of January, 1861, presided over by an intimate personal friend of President Buchanan, two days before the election of Jefferson Davis as President of the Confederacy, resolved that if the South should separate from the Union, Pennsylvania's sympathy would be "with our brethren of the South whose wrongs we feel as our own."

Ex-Governor Rodman M. Price of New Jersey, in the spring of 1861, wrote to M. F. Maury of Fredericksburg, Va., that in the event of secession, New Jersey "would go with the South from every wise, prudential, and patriotic consideration." A seceding Representative from South Carolina, declaiming for secession after the November election in 1860, declared, amid thunders of applause by a Charleston audience, "that there are a million of Democrats in the North who, when the Black Republicans attempt to march upon the South, will be found a wall of fire in the front"—a boast to which the facts already stated and the editorials of such newspapers as the New York *Herald* of November 9, 1860, which claimed for each State "the right to break the tie of the Confederation, as a nation might break a treaty, and to repel coercion as a nation might repel invasion," and the Albany *Argus* of November 10, 1860, which in a contingency declared itself ready to applaud Southern "resort to revolution and a separation from the Union," and the speeches and action of the representative Democrats of New York in their meeting of January 31, 1861, lent every appearance of probability.

When the secession movement began, the two Democratic Representatives from California openly advocated the secession of the Pacific Coast States and the creation of a Pacific Republic. Democrats in the West openly discussed the expediency of organizing a Western Republic. And Fernando Wood, then Democratic mayor of the city of New York, in his message of January 6, 1861, suggested whether the time had not now come for New York City to throw off its allegiance both to the State of New York and to the Union, and to become a "free city." He descanted upon the commercial and other advantages which that city would derive from such a step.

PRESIDENT BUCHANAN'S MESSAGE.

Much of the demoralization which these suggestions disclose was due to the position taken by the Buchanan administration before the secession of a single State. That "public functionary" failed to utter in his Annual Message of Decem-

ber 4, 1860, one brave word for his imperiled country. President Buchanan claimed to honor the memory and to have accepted the principles of Andrew Jackson; but in considering his duty he forgot Jackson's principles and Jackson's example.

See the contrast. In 1832 a South Carolina Convention passed an ordinance declaring "null and void and no law" the two U. S. Tariff Acts of 1828 and 1832, refused to allow the validity of such acts to be questioned in the courts of that State or appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States, and announced that if Congress should proceed to enforce said acts otherwise than through the civil tribunals of the country to which their ordinance had denied jurisdiction, the people of South Carolina would proceed "to organize a separate government and do all other acts and things which sovereign and independent States may of right do."

How did President Jackson meet the threat?

He issued his proclamation of December 10, 1832, denouncing this ordinance "as incompatible with the existence of the Union, contradicted expressly by the letter of the Constitution, unauthorized by its spirit, inconsistent with every principle on which it was founded, and destructive of the great object for which it was formed." He temperately refuted the theories on which it rested, and then said: "But the dictates of a high duty oblige me solemnly to announce that you cannot succeed. The laws of the United States must be executed. Those who told you that you might peaceably prevent their execution deceived you. Forcible opposition can alone prevent the execution of the laws, and such opposition must be repelled. The object aimed at is disunion; and disunion, by armed force, is TREASON. Are you ready to incur its guilt? If you are, on the heads of the instigators of the act be the dreadful consequences, but on yours may fall the punishment." This was President Jackson's response to South Carolina's Ordinance of Nullification.

By December 4, 1860, the U. S. district judge, district attorney, and marshal for South Carolina had, by arrangement, resigned, as the like officers had done in 1832, and

for the like reason. The actual situation was much the same, though the Ordinance of Secession of December 20, 1860, was then only foreshadowed, not passed. What was President Buchanan's answer to the preparations for disunion which came to him on every gale from the South? He sent to Congress a Message which can be best described as a diplomatic balance. It contained some phrases of comfort for each side. It contained other phrases which neither could enjoy. And it contained nothing tangible which either could tie to. It was the act of a double-minded man, unstable in all his ways. He brought from the Virginia resolutions of 1798 into conspicuous concession the proposition (1) that only a "deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise" of powers not granted by the Constitution would "afford just cause for dissolving the Union." This principle being admitted, the Secessionists cared little for his expression of opinion that the election of Mr. Lincoln was not a sufficient cause either in itself or in what it foreboded. He denied (2) that any State might at its "sovereign will and pleasure secede from the Union in accordance with the Constitution," apparently forgetting that the eighth resolution of the Cincinnati platform of 1856, into which he had merged himself, contained the germ of secession. It adopted as "sound Democratic doctrine" the Kentucky resolutions of 1798, which taught that our government was a "compact" between States with no common arbiter and judge, and therefore that each State had the indefeasible right, as in all such "compacts," to judge both of the fact of infraction and of the "MODE AND MEASURE OF REDRESS." President Buchanan also (3) denied that the United States had power, by force of arms, to compel a State to remain in the Union—"the Constitution not having delegated to Congress the power to coerce into submission a State which is attempting to withdraw, or has actually withdrawn, from the Confederacy."

The catch-phrase "no power to coerce a State," also borrowed from the Nullifying Ordinance of South Carolina, resounded at once throughout the country, and for months made an apparent public sentiment. The seceding South accepted it with glee as an assurance of safety and

success. The Union-loving people North and South heard it as a knell of death, while the slavery-loving Northern Democracy clutched it as they would have clutched a drug to bring them oblivion of the unparalleled difficulties which were gathering around their Administration. President Buchanan's excuse, given five years after the fact, for not imitating the example of President Jackson was "that the times had greatly changed during the more than a quarter of a century which had since elapsed." * But he does not pretend that the principles of our government or the relations of the President to the Constitution and the whole people had changed during that quarter of a century.

As a consequence of this remarkable series of events there followed over the entire North the extraordinary acquiescence in secession schemes which was mistaken by many for proof that partisan passion and the commercial sense had extinguished patriotism, that a united country and a once-honored flag had lost their power to stir, and that a dry-rot had attacked the sources of national pride and national life. This was true of the class of whom James Buchanan was a type. And but for the incorruptible integrity of the "plain people," the day of the death of the American Union had then come.

The "common-sense" of the people was clearer than the statesmanship of the President. They saw that the real question was not whether the Union had a right to "coerce a State" which was seceding or had seceded, but whether the Union had a right to defend itself against enemies combined to despoil and destroy it.

Mr. Buchanan did not see this, because he was incapable of seeing anything, in our system, but "States." To him the "people of the United States" were simply a phrase in a preamble. He comprehended fully the idea of indestructible States. He comprehended not at all the idea of an indissoluble Union. He saw half the truth and supposed it to be the whole. This was the vice of his position. He knew that

* Buchanan's Administration, p. 179.

the laws of the United States do not operate on "States," but on individuals. But he could not realize that it was not, somehow, possible for "States" to draw out from under the authority of the Union the individuals who lived within their boundaries. The theory that they could do so was, here and now, proved to be repugnant both to the principles and the objects, and destructive of the life, of the government. Yet he and his school preferred maintaining their theory, in the presence of the ruin it was working, to asserting a power in the government for self-protection which was at least equal to the asserted power in the States for its destruction. President Buchanan discarded all such suggestions. He held that the Union rested "upon public opinion." He claimed, therefore, "that it could never be cemented by the blood of its citizens shed in civil war." He held further that Congress possessed many means of preserving the Union by conciliation, and not the sword to preserve it by force. The sum of the whole matter with him, therefore, was that it was the duty of Congress to propose, immediately, an amendment of the Constitution which would embody in it the extreme principles of the Dred Scott "opinion" and make slavery the one dominant interest and idea in our system. Such was the absurd, and only, remedy proposed by our Democratic President.

THE KENTUCKY AND VIRGINIA RESOLUTIONS OF 1798.

Absurd as it was, it was entirely consistent with the new lights which since 1852 had illumined the national Democracy. These were the celebrated Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1798 touching the true principles of our goverment.

They had since that time, been successively adopted at every Democratic National Convention, and been indorsed as "constituting one of the main foundations of its political creed." The Kentucky resolutions explicitly define our "government "as a compact; "that to this compact each State acceded as a State, and is an integral party, its co-States forming as to itself the other party;" that the "government created by this compact was not made the exclusive or final *judge* of the extent of the

powers delegated to itself;" that "wheresoever the General Government assumes undelegated powers, its acts are unauthoritative, void, and of no force;" and that, "as in other cases of compact among parties having no common judge, each party has an equal right to judge for itself, as well of infractions, as of the mode and measure of redress."

The Virginia resolutions affirm the same theory of "compact of States," as distinguished from union of the people, and explicitly declare "that in case of a deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise of other powers, not granted by the said compact, the States, who are parties thereto, have the right, and are in duty bound, to interpose for arresting the progress of the evil, and for maintaining, within their respective limits, the authorities, rights, and liberties appertaining to them." This statement plainly leaves it with the State to determine the form of "interposition" which it may choose to make for the maintenance of its "authorities, rights, and liberties." President Buchanan, in his message of December 4, 1860, signified his approval of this theory of these resolutions to the extent of stating, quoting the very words of this resolution, that a "deliberate, palpable, and dangerous" exercise of ungranted powers would "justify a resort to revolutionary violence." This admission reduced the difference between the secessionists and our President to a difference of opinion over degrees of provocation and over theories of justification. These resolutions of 1798 had thus in them the germs out of which had sprung every "overt act" which darkened the horizon of the Union during the gloomy winter of 1860–61. They had literally blazed the path on which the secessionists had gayly begun their dance of death. And they had actually destroyed every old Democratic principle which would have nerved Union-loving Democrats to help save a dissolving Union. So that, in this supreme crisis of the Nation, this historic party, instead of being valiant to care for what had been committed to it, was a paralytic.

It is interesting to note the date at which the resolutions of 1798 were resurrected and made a "main foundation of Democratic creed." It was in the year 1852. Nothing in any de-

gree resembling them can be found in their National Platform of 1844 or of 1848—and for an obvious reason. Up to that time Jacksonism had been the inspiration of that party as a whole.

But in 1852, and thenceforth, Calhounism entered into and possessed it. There was another and a practical reason for the appearance of this resolution at that time. In 1851 there had been a distinct movement in the Gulf States tending toward secession, but it had failed because it found the Southern Democracy unripe on the question of provocation, and the Northern Democracy unripe on the question of power. Until both classes were sufficiently educated, no progress to a slave republic could be made. It was at once resolved to debauch the Northern Democracy. The price was their votes. The bargain was made.

Franklin Pierce was nominated for President, and the resolutions of 1798 became a "main foundation of Democratic creed." They were a conspicuous feature in the Democratic Platforms of 1852, of 1856, and of 1860—doing everywhere the purposed and pernicious work of undermining the national structure and preparing the way for the long-planned conspiracy of 1861–65.* They disappeared from the Platform of 1864, in the very flames of war; but there were men in that convention who sought to re-affirm them. They were voted out on the avowed ground that the Platform of 1864 was to be limited to the one issue of surrender to the rebellion by a convention. To this hour, no Democratic Con-

* *Extract from letter of President Andrew Jackson to Rev. A. J. Crawford, Washington, May* 1, 1833: "The tariff was only the pretext [for nullification], and disunion and a Southern Confederacy the real object. The next pretext will be the negro or slavery question."

From Thomas H. Benton's Thirty Years' View, vol. 2: "In tracing this agitation [slavery] to its present stage, it is not to be forgotten that it is a mere continuation of old tariff disunion, and preferred because more available."

From Henry Clay's private correspondence of 1844, *p.* 490: "It is perfectly manifest that a party exists in South Carolina seeking a dissolution of the Union."

From Stephen A. Douglas's last speech, Chicago, May 1, 1861: "The election of Mr. Lincoln is a mere pretext. The present secession movement is the result of an enormous conspiracy formed more than a year since—formed by leaders in the Southern Confederacy more than twelve months ago. They use the slavery question as a means to aid the accomplishment of their ends."

vention has expressed contrition for the unexampled betrayal of trust made by the Democratic party in their adoption. For a parallel to this, both in the treachery of it and the terrible consequences of it, the history of all parties in all nations will be searched in vain.

Resting upon the assurances and opinions of the most conspicuous Democratic authority in the Union, the secessionists, who had boldly seized the legislative and military power of six States, and were sure of immunity for the three months yet remaining of Democratic supremacy in the Union, proceeded in the completion of their schemes of disunion. So that, when President Buchanan turned from his hands to those of his lawfully-elected successor the government of the United States which he had received from his predecessor, there was confronting it, as a direct product of his concessions, arguments, and assurances of December 4, 1860, a hostile government which practically held most of the slave section—organized under a constitution, intent upon independence, preparing for war, and partly prepared for war by the transfer during the year 1860 from the Springfield (Mass.) Arsenal to Southern arsenals, and by advancing to Southern States their quotas of arms—this through the agency of John B. Floyd, President Buchanan's Secretary of War, and to the extent of over 250,000 muskets.

THE CONFEDERATE CONSTITUTION.

The Constitution of the Confederate States was modeled upon the Constitution of the United States. Jefferson Davis in his Inaugural said that it "differed only from that of our fathers in so far as it was explanatory of their well-known intent." But the number of changes, both of omission and addition, which were required to make the new instrument comport with their previous interpretations of the old instrument, show the hollowness of the pretenses made by this class for seventy years. In this aspect, a study of their Constitution has especial value.

First. In the preamble were inserted the words, "Each State acting in its sovereign and independent character."

Second. From the preamble were stricken out the clauses: "more perfect Union," "provide for the common defense," and "promote the general welfare." In place of the words, "more perfect Union," were inserted the words, "permanent federal government."

Third. In the first article legislative powers were "delegated" to Congress, instead of "granted."

Fourth. In the third paragraph of Art. 1, and elsewhere, the word "slaves" was inserted instead of the words, "other persons."

Fifth. In the eighth section of Art. 1 a clause was inserted that "no bounties shall be granted from the treasury, nor shall any duties or taxes on importations from foreign nations be laid to promote or foster any branch of industry."

Sixth. The Congress was denied the power "to appropriate money for any internal improvement intended to facilitate commerce," except furnishing buoys, improving harbors, and removing obstructions in river navigation, "and in all such cases duties shall be laid on the navigation facilitated thereby as may be necessary to pay the costs and expenses thereof."

Seventh. The Congress was denied power to pass a "law denying or impairing the right of property in negro slaves."

Eighth. The denial of the right of States to "grant bills of credit" was struck out.

Ninth. The "Supreme" Court was made a "Superior" Court.

Tenth. Citizens of each State were given the "right of transit and sojourn in any State with their slaves."

Eleventh. The word "slave" is inserted in the "service or labor" clause of Art. 4, Sect. II.

Twefth. In the clause giving jurisdiction to Congress over the Territories, it was provided that "in all such territory negro slavery shall be recognized and protected by Congress and by the territorial government, and the inhabitants of the several Confederate States and Territories shall have the right to take to such territory any slaves lawfully held by them in any of the States or Territories in the Confederates States."

Thirteenth. Every phrase was excluded which involved the

idea of a "Union." Every phrase was included which involved the idea of a "Confederacy."

And upon all this elaborate construction for the perpetuation of human bondage they inserted in the preamble a clause "invoking the favor and guidance of Almighty God."

This Constitution had immediate interpretation from the Vice-President elected under it. He declared that it had for its "corner-stone" the great truth that "slavery is the natural and normal condition of the negro." He found the basis for this great truth in either "nature," or in the "curse against Canaan." But history explodes one of these pretenses, and ethnological science the other. He declared this to be the first government in the history of the world based upon this great "physical and moral truth." And he predicted that, though this "truth" may be slow in development, the government founded upon it is destined to become the controlling power on this continent, while the progress of disintegration in the old Union may be expected to go on with "absolute certainty."

It is difficult to restrain a smile while reading these glowing prophecies. But they were not at the time regarded as visionary by those to whom they were addressed. Because those who heard them realized, on the one hand, the prodigious force of the power which was daily drawing towards the Confederacy the border slave States, and because, on the other hand, they felt a great security against an appeal to arms in the attitude assumed toward them by the Northern Democracy.

Mr. Stephens did not miscalculate as to the favorable influences touching the border States. His fatal error was as to the probable conditions which would confront Abraham Lincoln in the free States. The Northern Democratic masses had read, but had not received, the secessionism which lurked in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions. They had supported in 1852 and 1856 and in 1860 Democratic Presidential candidates without realizing that thereby they had been counted as willing to be conspirators in the destruction of their country. They did not intend that party fealty should be taken for treachery to their own hearths and homes. And when the flag of their country was deliberately insulted at Sumter, an indignant and

resenting patriotism drove at once to the side of President Lincoln the uncorrupted part of the Northern people, while Pierce and Price and Wood and their ilk hid themselves from the wrathful indignation of those whom they had betrayed. Had the Northern Democratic leaders perfected the work to which since 1852 they had dedicated themselves, actual resistance to the firing on Sumter would have been impossible, and disunion would have come, as it was expected by the secessionists to come, through an enervated and incapable North.

Meanwhile the superseded Congress, at its closing session to which President Buchanan addressed his last message, paid instant attention to the condition to which the country had been reduced.

Committees in each House considered the crisis, and a "Peace Congress," organized from without, met in Washington for the same purpose. The final result was that both Houses passed, by the 2d of March, 1861, a joint resolution proposing a constitutional amendment that "no amendment shall be made to the Constitution which will authorize or give to Congress the power to abolish or interfere, within any State, with the domestic institutions thereof, including that of persons held to labor or service by the laws of said State." This was in substantial harmony with the Republican National Platform of 1860; and President Lincoln in his Inaugural of March 4, 1861, said that he had no objection to this provision of implied constitutional law "being made express and irrevocable."

But the leaders of the secession movement scorned the guaranty. Their answer was: "If the Republicans should give us a blank sheet of paper upon which to write the condition of reannexation to the defunct Union, we would scornfully spurn the overture." Thus the strife, now become incurable but by blood, became a legacy from the Buchanan to the Lincoln administration. The amendment, ratified at once by the legislatures of Maryland and Ohio, was quickly forgotten in the march of events.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S INAUGURATION.

On the 4th of March, 1861, the new President asked of all the people calmness and deliberation. He protested that the security of no section should be in any wise endangered by the new incoming administration, and he promised that protection would be given to all States equally when lawfully demanded, for whatever cause. He expressed willingness to have a convention of the States to consider amendments to the Constitution. He pleaded with his "dissatisfied fellow-countrymen" to be friends, not enemies, adding the hope "that the mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature." In five weeks thereafter Fort Sumter was bombarded. It surrendered to the enemy on the 14th of April, 1861. On the next day President Lincoln called for 75,000 troops in order to suppress in South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas combinations obstructing the execution of the laws of the United States, which combinations are too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the marshals by law.

In the presence of this appeal, President Buchanan's State-rights sophisms were forgotten, and the people of the North rallied with surprising ardor around the flag of their country. Under it they marched—nearly two and a half millions of them—for four weary and wasting years, to gain by the ultimate surrender of the Confederate armies the vindication of the national authority for which they spent many millions of treasure and many thousands of lives. What President Buchanan predicted could not be done was done. The people of the Republic proved themselves able to maintain a long and bloody war in defense of public life and personal liberty, to subdue the most powerful rebellion of all time, to preserve their republican institutions unharmed, to "cement" our Union "by the blood of its citizens," and at the end of all

this strife to lead the people up to the point of extirpating, by constitutional provision, the cause of all this bitterness, of elevating to United States citizenship the class who were the innocent occasion of this tremendous conflict, and of settling our American civilization upon a firmer basis than it had when this great strain began, or ever could have had in the absence of this heroic surgery.

LINCOLN AND SLAVERY.

President Lincoln sought, in the beginning, to confine the issue to the single point of asserting the supremacy of the laws of the Union.

But other elements quickly entered on each side of the line. As early as January, 1861, three months before the firing on Fort Sumter, "large gangs of negroes from plantations" were put to work" by the Confederates on the redoubts at Mobile, and a thousand negroes were busy at Charleston building batteries." Free negroes also were employed in like service at Charleston, Lynchburg, Norfolk, and Memphis; and by November, 1861, over 1,400 free colored men were organized and reviewed by the Governor of Louisiana. As early as June, 1861, the Legislature of Tennessee provided for receiving as volunteers, or for pressing as drafted men, "male free persons of color" into the military service of that State, in numbers at the discretion of the governor. Other States, and finally the Confederate Congress early in 1863, provided for the service of slaves in certain capacities in their army.

And in the spring of 1865, when the Confederacy was facing death, the Confederate Congress authorized the enlistment of 300,000 slaves as soldiers, "with the same rations, clothing, and pay as other troops." There was added in the law the grim and cold proviso that "nothing in this act shall be construed to authorize a change in the relation of said slaves." As slaves, they were to fight for slavery, and then to be remanded to their masters! Though the ground was quaking and hope itself was fleeing, the Confederacy piteously pleaded for the help of slaves, but would not consent to diminish, by the smallest fraction, the number of its chained and bound. No wonder, after such a

spectacle, that the Confederacy went down amid the acclaim of all the nations of the earth, and that its last days lacked dignity, and wholly failed to inspire pity.

On the other hand, during the summer of 1861 colored refugees were used in the Engineer and Quartermaster and other Departments of the Union army. But it was not until the summer of 1862 that the Congress of the Union enrolled this class in the national forces. Thus free and slave negroes were from an early date employed on both sides—the Confederate antedating the Union authorities in this respect. As early as 1862, when the military struggle was most stubborn and uncertain and there was nothing clear except prolongation of hostilities, Mr. Lincoln sought to detach the sympathies of the Border States from the Confederacy by proposing to them Compensated Emancipation, as had been applied in the District of Columbia. Mr. Lincoln then regarded that as the quickest and cheapest way to end the war, and besides as tending to a speedy solution of the slavery question in all the States. He addressed Congress upon the subject, and sought especially to interest in it the Border States' representatives, but with indifferent success. Some doubted their constitutional power so to vote public funds. Others doubted the practicability of the plan. Others deemed it unadvisable. A few approved and were ready to co-operate. But nothing was done, and the war rolled on, indecisively, expensively, discouragingly.

On the 22d September, 1862, President Lincoln, after much deliberation, finally reached a definite conclusion. After the retreat of Lee from Maryland after the battle of Antietam, he issued to the people a proclamation, in which he declared a purpose to issue, on the first of the next January, another proclamation which would declare forever free all persons held as slaves in any State, or designated part of a State, the people of which shall then be in rebellion against the United States. He declared his purpose to renew at the next session of Congress the effort for Compensated Emancipation for the adhering slave States, with a view to the adoption by them of immediate or gradual abolishment of slavery within their respective limits.

On the 1st of January, 1863, he issued the Proclamation of

Emancipation as promised, "as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion," and "upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity," he invoked "the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God." Thenceforth a decided anti-slavery direction was given to the contest by the armies and Congress of the Union.

Compensated Emancipation for the Border States having been declined, the President and his party advanced, in 1864, to the position of Emancipation for all the States without Compensation.

In February of that year the Thirteenth Constitutional Amendment was reported to the Senate, which, three months thereafter, passed it by a vote of over six to one. The exact vote was—yeas 38, nays 6. In the affirmative with the Republicans were the two "war" Democratic Senators from Oregon. The six negative votes were cast by "irreconcilable" Democratic Senators from California, Delaware, Indiana, and Kentucky. But the movement received a check in the House of Representatives, which had been chosen in the fall of 1862 under the depression of military failures, and in which the Democratic contingent was a large element. The vote on passing the amendment was taken on the 15th day of June, 1864, and resulted—yeas 95, nays 66, not voting 20—not two thirds in the affirmative. A motion to reconsider this vote was entered, and the subject went over till the next session.

LINCOLN'S RE-ELECTION.

Meanwhile, on the 7th of June, 1864, Abraham Lincoln was renominated. In the third resolution the Convention declared that, as slavery was the cause and now constitutes "the strength of this rebellion, and as it must be, always and everywhere, hostile to the principles of republican government, justice and the national safety demand its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the Republic," and that they favored an amendment of the Constitution such "as shall terminate and forever prohibit the existence of slavery within the United States."

The Convention further approved the determination of the

Government of the United States "not to compromise with rebels, or to offer them any terms of peace except such as may be based upon an unconditional surrender of their hostility and a return to their just allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States."

These two distinct and broad issues were tendered to the American people. The Democratic Convention met nearly two months later, and, on the 30th of August, nominated General George B. McClellan for President. Their platform declared "unswerving fidelity to the Union under the Constitution." They "explicitly declared" that, after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, "justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to an ultimate convention of the States, or other peaceable means, to the end that at the earliest practicable moment peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States."

"Unswerving fidelity to the Union under the Constitution" was understood to mean a covert declaration of unwillingness to amend the Constitution, as proposed by the Republicans; and an "ultimate Convention of the States" was understood to mean a purpose to confer with those then in arms against us as to the terms on which they would agree to return to their places in the Union. It was strongly suspected then that this cunning suggestion had its inspiration in Richmond, which was then quaking under the deadly blow the Union armies were dealing. What was then suspected is now known. As lately as October of last year, it was divulged by the Baltimore *Sun*, the leading Democratic newspaper of Maryland, that the unwillingness of the Democracy of Maryland in 1864 to support for President, General McClellan who had violently dispersed their legislature in 1861, was removed by the assurance from Richmond that the "South wanted some one to give them terms, and that the Democratic party would deal very differently with them from the Lincoln administration; and that the Democracy of Maryland yielded its resentment towards the candidate *in the hope and for the purpose of aiding its suffering friends south of the Potomac.* This is literally true."

On which the keen remark was made, by one of the parties to the controversy which caused this exposure, that the Democrats of Maryland in 1864, "under the guise of exercising their rights as citizens of the United States, were actually secretly obeying the instruction of the armed enemies of the Federal Government."

President Lincoln's letter of acceptance "heartily approved" the resolutions of the Convention.

General McClellan's letter of acceptance interpreted the Democratic platform. He said, "The Union is the one condition of peace; we ask no more."

This clearly excluded the idea of any change of Constitution as antecedent to, or concurrent with, return to the Union. It was, besides, set forth that the Convention which was to be held should guarantee for the future the constitutional rights of every State. This could mean only that the "Union" was to be restored as it was, including protection to slavery by all branches of the government. On these lines the McClellan campaign was made. The Prof. Morse committee in New York gave its strength to proving the divinity of slavery and the necessity of saving it, and circulated in large numbers Bishop Hopkins's celebrated "Bible View of Slavery."

While the Democratic Campaign Committee, also in New York, in their publications arraigned Abraham Lincoln for sixteen distinct offenses, "from treason to thimblerigging," including specifically perjury, bribery, forgery, and the like.*

They denounced him as exercising power with the recklessness of Bomba, and as "surrounded by more dangerous men than haunted the ante-rooms of the imbecile Louis XIII." They compared him with Louis Napoleon. It was charged that Napoleon "shed some blood to get power, violated some oaths, broke some pledges." But they charged that Napoleon broke not half so many as Abraham Lincoln. Napoleon was chided for "shedding rills of blood." Lincoln was denounced for "pouring rivers of blood." That nothing possible to be said to Lincoln's disparagement should remain unsaid by the repre-

* For all this, and more, see Campaign Documents Nos. 1 and 13.

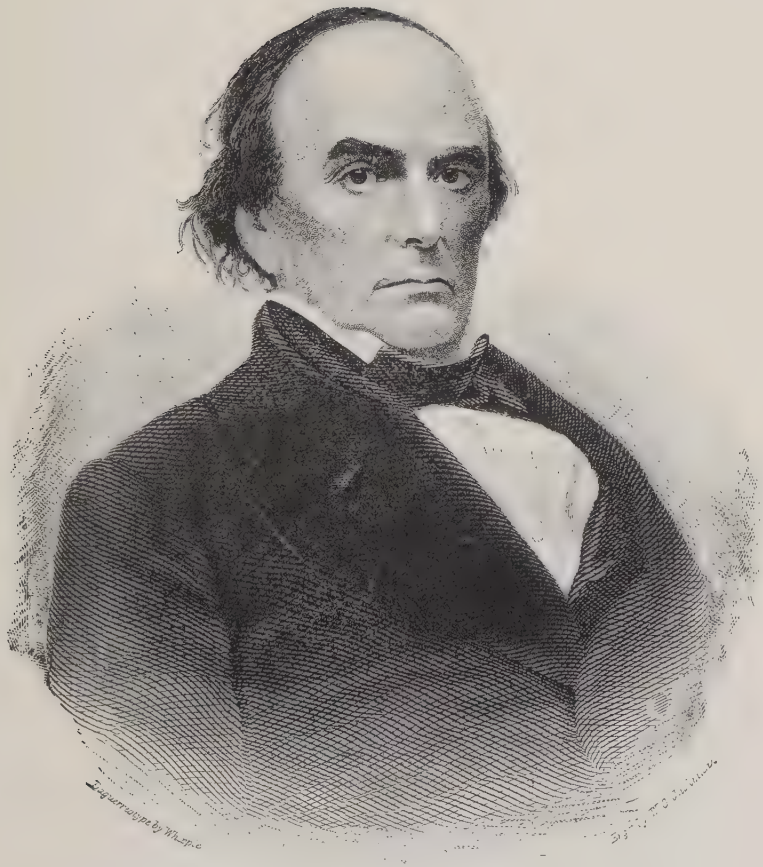
sentatives of the Democratic party, the despotism of Jefferson Davis was described as "an educated, intelligent, and respectable despotism;" that of Abraham Lincoln, as "a vulgar and debasing despotism." McClellan and Lincoln were compared—"Hyperion to a Satyr." Thus they raved till the morning of the election.

The country was not deceived by these tactics. It was not in favor of restoring slavery to its position of mischief-maker; and it had faith that the Government was now on the path to victory and enduring peace. It re-elected President Lincoln by giving him 212 of the 233 votes composing the Electoral College. McClellan carried the three States of Delaware, Kentucky, and New Jersey. Lincoln had a popular majority of over 400,000.

The result produced consternation in the Confederate Capitol. The authorities there saw in it not merely the triumph of the Union arms, but the doom of slavery itself. From July, 1863, they had expected the former; up to November, 1864, they relied on the Northern Democracy to save them from the latter. But this "Spartan band," whose existence was gratefully recognized on the floor of the Secession Convention of South Carolina in December, 1860, proved in 1864 as unable to defeat President Lincoln's re-election, and to save slavery, as it proved unable or unwilling in 1861 to redeem its pledges of the previous year to prevent the marching of troops over Northern soil for the "coercion" of seceding States. As a "Spartan band" it had proved itself lacking in virility, not malignity.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY AMENDMENT.

The Republicans came to Washington after the election of 1864 flushed with their great victory; and on the 31st of January, 1865, the Anti-slavery Amendment, which had failed in June, 1864, by a vote of 95 to 66, was passed through the House of Representatives by a vote of 119 to 56, being 7 votes more than the required two thirds. On this vote, the three "war Democrats" of the previous vote were re-enforced by 13 other Democrats who acquiesced in the popular verdict. They with



Daniel Webster

103 Republicans made up the affirmative. The 56 negatives were "irreconcilable" Democrats. The six absentees were all of the Democratic party, presumably willing to have the Amendment submitted.

In the debate, the opposition resisted the measure on the triple grounds of the unfitness of the time, the impropriety of the thing, and the want of power in "three fourths of the States" to make such an amendment. Mr. Pendleton, the Vice-Presidential candidate on the ticket with General McClellan, elaborated these points as well in the debate of June, 1864, as of January, 1865. He, holding the extreme State-rights view, regarded our government as a "compact of confederation," and the "Federal Government" as "the agent of the States." He affirmed the doctrines laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1798; denied the power of "three fourths of the States, or all the States save one, to abolish slavery in that dissenting State"—and he found this exclusion of power, not in the clause of the Constitution defining the right of amendment, for it confessedly is not there, but in a duty we owed not to subvert the form and spirit and theory of the government! This argument, for a strict constructionist, was rather broad, for it required that the ingenuity of 1865 should supply the thing forgotten by the framers in 1789. Their exclusion of certain amendments was plainly a permission of all others on which the necessary two thirds of Congress and three fourths of the legislatures could agree.

Public sentiment had come slowly to the point of adopting this amendment.

In the earlier years of the war suggestions in this direction met no general response—rather roused opposition. The people yet hoped for peace without abolition. But events clarified vision. As sacrifices continued, perception of right grew clearer. As anxieties increased, the public more willingly considered remedies which promised permanent relief. And, finally, as the enormity of the crime of the secession movement dawned upon and found lodgment in the mind of the Union-loving people of the country, and as the struggle was, finally, plainly seen to be between two irreconcilable

civilizations and policies, there was a gravitation to the conviction that no victory for the Union would be a complete compensation for the vast cost of the war, which did not involve as signal a triumph for the principle of liberty as for the sentiment of union. And as the people contemplated the final overthrow of slavery, there was added comfort in the thought that it was what had demanded the sword which now was to perish by the sword.

Hence, by 1865, the amendment was received by the country with more than acquiescence. It excited genuine enthusiasm. It was regarded by the loyal masses as pre-eminently the civic act most fitting to mark the close of the military struggle.

It was ratified by all the legislatures then in session, except by the Democratic legislatures of Delaware, Kentucky, and New Jersey, which last State at a subsequent election chose a legislature which reversed this vote and ratified the amendment. Ultimately, thirty-six legislatures—some of them of the reconstructed States—voted on the question. Twenty-seven voted affirmatively, and on the 18th of December, 1865, it was proclaimed as having become a part of the Constitution. And this was done over the solid opposition of the Democratic party in the various State legislatures. This beneficent act is now the praise of all lips. Even the South expresses a sense of indescribable relief, as it bounds forth under the stimulus of a new life. All agree that it has vastly served the cause of national unity, of national strength, and of national regeneration. But it ought not to be forgotten, in this universal pæan, that no credit, or portion of credit, for this result attaches to the men who controlled, or to the ideas which dominated, the Democratic party. They stood by slavery to the last.

While this amendment was pending in Congress, the Confederate authorities turned inquiring eyes towards the successful Lincoln. Peace through the McClellan convention was not now possible. At Hampton Roads, on the 3d of February, 1863, they tested Lincoln as to the conditions of peace. He gave three: (1) The restoration of the national authority throughout all the States; (2) No receding by the Executive of the United States on the slavery question from the position

assumed thereon in the late annual message to Congress, and in preceding documents; (3) No cessation of hostilities short of an end of the war and the disbanding of all forces hostile to the government.

Three days thereafter, Jefferson Davis denounced these terms in a public meeting in Richmond as a "gross insult to be spurned with indignation." Their next device was an appeal from the re-elected President to Grant, the victorious leader of our armies. Within a month from the Hampton Roads conference, General Lee proposed to General Grant a "military conference," to consider a "satisfactory adjustment of the present unhappy difficulties." Lee announced himself as clothed with extraordinary power "to do whatever the result of the proposed interview may render necessary or desirable." The purpose was to dethrone the civil authority of the United States and settle the issue by a military convention. Grant referred the proposal to Lincoln, who advised Grant to hold no "conference" with General Lee except for "capitulation," as the "President holds in his own hands all political questions." What was purposed by this may be inferred from the terms which constituted the text of the Sherman-Johnston agreement. As the Confederate Cabinet deliberated upon these terms, they can be safely accepted as what that Cabinet then desired. They stipulated for a guaranty of the political rights and franchises of the Confederates, and "for their rights of person and property as defined by the Constitution of the United States and of the States respectively." These terms are suggestive for their comprehensiveness; but they were disapproved. Johnston's army was then surrendered without political conditions, and the war was closed without complications touching slavery or other political question.

Thus repeatedly foiled, yet still not without hope, the Confederate authorities in control of their State organizations resorted to a new expedient. They would defend slavery and its incidents behind the bulwarks of the State governments they controlled. The Confederate governors of Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Texas hastened to summon their legislatures, with the evident purpose, upon renewing in an oath their

pledge of loyalty to the United States, to assert their authority as legislators as indicated in Art. III. of the Sherman-Johnston agreement,* and to resist encroachment upon the *status quo.* But President Johnson comprehended the purpose, and, not yet captured by the Confederates, prohibited the meeting of the legislatures, and within a month superseded all, and imprisoned one or more, of these governors. And thus the way was made clear for the Presidential plan of restoration which was declared, defined, and executed between April and November, 1865.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S RESTORATION POLICY.

The old Congress had expired forty days before the surrender, and the new Congress could not meet unless called by the Executive. The new Executive was Andrew Johnson, who, in the sudden consciousness of unexpected and extraordinary power, preferred that his will should stand in place of law. He formed a plan of restoration. It involved the appointment by himself of a "provisional governor" for each of the insurrectionary States, and the election under his authority on the old basis of white suffrage, excluding a few classes, of conventions to make new constitutions and effect, thereby, proper practical relations between those States and the Union. The President indicated four conditions which he desired observed by these State Conventions:

(1) Ratifying the constitutional amendment to abolish slavery.

(2) Repudiating the State debts created in aid of the Rebellion.

(3) Annulling the Ordinances of Secession.

(4) Extending the elective franchise in their States to those colored male negroes who could read and write, and to those who owned and paid taxes on $250 worth of real estate.

President Johnson soon met quiet but firm resistance in several quarters and on several points. The conventions ex-

* The recognition by the Executive of the United States of the several State governments, on their officers and legislatures taking the oath prescribed by the Constitution.

pressed willingness to abolish slavery in their States "because already destroyed as an act of war by the United States," but they expressed reluctance to ratify the proposed constitutional amendment because that would aid in abolishing slavery in other States. But, under decided pressure from the President, this objection was finally waived and ratification voted, though coupled in several cases with the suggestive condition that such amendment "does not confer upon Congress power to legislate upon the political *status* of freedmen in those States," and with a reservation by Georgia of a right to claim compensation.

The *second* condition was partially conceded—Mississippi and South Carolina alone declining.

The *third* condition was refused by the South Carolina and the Georgia conventions, which voted to "repeal" their Ordinances of Secession, thus avoiding a denial of the right to pass them.

And the *fourth* condition, that on colored suffrage—which struck the nerve-centre—was treated with contemptuous silence by all of them, though it was reinforced by piteous appeals or passionate remonstrances from mass-meetings of colored persons held in those capitals. When it is remembered that the conventions which made this record were chosen by the President's authority alone; that to them he was the sole representative of the power of the Union; that he gave the pardons which enabled many of the members to sit; that yet not one of his suggestions was frankly and fully met; and that the most important of all, though plainly asked, was unitedly disregarded with undisguised purpose of hostility, it became evident, if it ever could have been doubted, that the Confederate South had then formed a fixed purpose to take back into the Union not only all the representative power they had before secession, but the increased power which would come from the representation as freemen of the two fifths formerly excluded as slaves. In a word, they purposed to profit by their rebellion, to be more powerful in the restored Union than they were in the Union from which they seceded, and to wield, through their own exclusive suffrage, the representative

power of both their white and colored populations. This purpose of theirs is the key to the situation as it then existed, as it has been steadily maintained, and as it now exists.

Why those conventions declined, without exception, even to consider President Johnson's demand for a qualified suffrage for colored persons, clearly appears from an examination of the "Freedmen's Codes" enacted by the State legislatures during the fall of 1865 and the spring of 1866, the provisions of which embody the views and purposes of the then governing classes in those States.

One spirit pervades all; and the details of one will answer for the others. Take for illustration Mississippi. All freedmen over 18 years of age found on the second Monday in January in each year without lawful employment or business, or found unlawfully assembling themselves together by day or night, and all white persons so assembling or usually associating with freedmen on terms of equality, were on conviction to be fined—the freedmen fifty dollars each and imprisoned ten days, the whites to be fined two hundred dollars and imprisoned at the discretion of the court. The fines of the freedmen if paid were to go to the general purposes of the county; if not paid, the sheriff was to hire the delinquents to any person who for the shortest period of service would pay the fine and costs, preference to be given to the employer, if any. The poverty of the freedmen was made a charge on themselves, and a tax of one dollar a year was imposed on each, between 18 and 60 years, for a "freedmen's pauper fund;" and if this tax was not paid, each delinquent was to be arrested and hired for the tax and costs. All the freedmen under 18 were to be apprenticed till 21 and 18 respectively, the former owner to have the preference. No freedman was permitted to rent any lands or tenements, except in incorporated towns or cities, in which places the corporate authorities were to control the same; and if he lived in a city or town or incorporated village he was required to have a license from the mayor, or if outside the town, from the member of the board of police of the beat —such license to be revocable for cause at any time. Any freedman keeping any fire-arms or ammunition was to be

fined; and any freedman exercising the functions of a minister of the Gospel without a license from some regularly-organized church was to be liable to a fine and imprisonment. The only provision for educating freedmen was in Florida, where schools were to be established in counties in which the number of children would warrant it and the fund derived from the tax of one dollar on each male freedman between 21 and 55, and the tuition fee, would be sufficient to meet expenses.

The codes of South Carolina and Virginia were such that General Sickles and General Terry set them aside in orders. These deliberate enactments of the purposes of the Confederate South created, outside of that jurisdiction, a mixed feeling of surprise and horror. When considered in connection with the previous action on Emancipation, Rebel Debt, Secession, and Qualified Suffrage, they cast a lurid shadow over the situation, and convinced both the Congress and the country that the measures of the President had wholly failed to bring safety or to do justice, and that before the offending States could prudently be re-clothed with the power of local control and national representation new guards against the abuse of both must be put up.

ACTION OF THE THIRTY-NINTH CONGRESS.

The new measure was the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution. It passed Congress finally on the 13th of June, 1866, and had four principal features:

I. The citizenship of all persons born or naturalized in the United States.

II. Apportioning representatives according to population in the States; but when the right to vote is denied by any State to any of its male inhabitants being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

III. Disqualifying for office those participants in the Rebellion who formerly had taken an oath to support the Consti-

tution of the United States—Congress reserving the right, by two thirds vote, to relieve the disability.

IV. The public debt shall not be questioned; but no debt incurred in aid of rebellion, nor any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave, shall be paid.

This amendment was intended to broaden the basis of American citizenship, by admitting into it the whole colored population of the country—the stirring declaration of its first section being the answer of the Union to the Freedmen's Codes described, and the formal repudiation of the principle which underlay the Dred Scott "opinion."

The two stand in strong and significant contrast. The Confederate South proposed to hold the late slaves as an exceptional, separate and dependent class, and to keep them a homeless and landless one. The Union proposed to make all of them American citizens, sharers with their late owners in the equal right to life, liberty, and property. But the amendment touched suffrage only negatively. It reduced the representation of a State in the proportion in which the State disfranchised male adults. In so far, and only so far, it operated to induce the States to confer the suffrage upon all male adults.

THE MILITARY RECONSTRUCTION ACT.

The amendment went to the people in the fall of 1866. It was rejected by the legislatures of but three of the twenty-seven adhering States, viz., the Democratic States of Delaware, Kentucky, and Maryland. It was rejected also by the legislatures then existing under President Johnson's authority in the ten insurrectionary States. The eight-ninths vote of the adhering States was thus overborne by the solid negative of the Confederate South, with three allies. What was to be done? Acquiesce in the defeat; maintain the *status;* or apply the only remaining remedy of which the case admitted? Congress got the answer of the last of the Confederate States in February, 1867. It gave its answer in March, 1867, in the prompt passage by overwhelming vote of the Military Reconstruction Act; and manhood suffrage became at once an operative force.

By it, ratification, ,restoration, and representation soon came, and the "Freedmen's Codes" and the other *debris* of the President's plan were swept aside by the application of equal principles embodied in new governments and enforced by new agents.

This act applied to the "rebel States of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Texas, and Virginia," and was justified on the ground that no legal State governments, or adequate protection for life or property, existed in them. The bill was passed, by much more than a two-thirds vote, over the veto of President Johnson, who was in no mood to enjoy seeing his "Restoration" swept aside.

This act disfranchised those who, having previously taken an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, had engaged in the Rebellion. It gave suffrage to the "male citizens of those States, 21 years old and upward, of whatever race, color, or previous condition." These were authorized to vote at elections for delegates to conventions to frame constitutions of government, to be "in conformity with the constitution of the United States in all respects." And the presence in those constitutions of provisions conferring the franchise as fixed in the act, the adoption of those constitutions by a majority of the persons voting thereon, and the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment by the legislatures elected under said constitutions, were made the conditions on the fulfillment of which said States should become entitled to representation in Congress. This act—the parent of manhood suffrage in the United States—created between 700,000 and 800,000 voters and doubled the electorate in those States. The new voters were up to that time without experience in either national, State, county, or municipal affairs. Entirely untrained, they were at the moment of enfranchisement, and had been for centuries without their consent, a "laboring, landless, and homeless class." Clothing them suddenly with the large power which their numbers represented was, and was conceded by those who did it, to be a portentous step. But it was taken, upon great deliberation, in full view of its probable and possi-

ble results, and only after it had been incontestably proved that the form of reconstruction agreed upon, with remarkable unanimity, by the law-making power of the Union could not be obtained in any other way.

Events previously noted had limited that Congress to one of three courses:

(1) An indefinite military occupation and administration of those States now become sullenly resistant; or

(2) An abandonment of effort to secure the guaranties which the adhering States believed to be both wise, just, and indispensable; or

(3) The creation of the only local power which was capable of controlling the political action and giving the assent of those States to the terms offered by the triumphant Union.

The *first* was for many reasons offensive and objectionable, and if ever seriously entertained was soon abandoned as a policy.

The *second* was impossible to the men who had seen and felt the coming of the War and the War itself, who realized what produced it, what it threatened, what it cost, and what was due to the rights which the struggle had created.

The *third* was slowly and reluctantly accepted as the only solution yet possible after the refusal of the then dominant interest in those States to accept the principles touching citizenship and suffrage which distinguished the Fourteenth Amendment. It is not uncommon to hear that colored suffrage was "forced upon a patient, submissive, and powerless South." This is historically untrue. It was forced upon a Confederate South united to defeat, having actually defeated, the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment as a basis of re-union.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1868.

The Military Reconstruction Act was enforced during the summer of 1867, and during the next twelve months the States of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, and South Carolina were admitted to representation in Congress, they having ratified the Fourteenth Amendment and complied with the conditions required in the act.

Pending the execution of this measure, the Presidential election approached. The Republicans nominated Ulysses S. Grant, the Democrats Horatio Seymour. The Republicans, in their platform, congratulated the country on the assured success of the reconstruction policy of Congress, and pledged themselves to sustain that policy and prevent anarchy in the lately rebellious States. The Democracy, become by training skillful in complaint, denounced "the Reconstruction Acts (so called) of Congress, as such, as usurpation and unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void." They declared that under repeated assaults by the Republican party "the pillars of the government are rocking on their base," and that "should the Republican party succeed in the election and inaugurate its President, we will meet as a subjected and conquered people, amid the ruins of liberty and the scattered fragments of the Constitution."

These words were intended to be an overwhelming assault upon the party and policy of Lincoln and Grant. But they created rather amusement than indignation.

The last time the Democratic party had been heard from—four years before—it was clamoring for a convention in order to permit our Constitution to be cut into such fragments as armed enemies might dictate—for a convention to submit our institutions of "liberty" to such mutilations as avowed defenders of slavery might demand as the price of peace.

The pillars of the government were at that time actually rocking on their base; and then it was that the Democratic organization declined to help hold them up, but insisted on first seeing whether those who were trying, with their assent, to batter them down would think they were any longer, under any circumstances, worth supporting. The professions of 1868 were thus rather ridiculous in the light of the surrender of 1864. The people properly rated as trash this magniloquence; as fretters and fumers these pretenders. And they gave Grant a popular majority of 309,584, and an electoral majority of 134. In this count is included for Seymour the State of New York, which, it was suspected then and is believed now, was given to Seymour, not by the actual will of the voters, but by the un-

scrupulous power of the "Tweed Ring" which had control of the count.

Grant was elected. He served four years. He was re-elected and served four years more. Yet from him or his party the Constitution of his country, which he had risked his life to defend and upon whose life it had staked its right to live, received no blow. Nothing was taken from it. What was added to it was merely the cap-stone required to perfect its symmetry. No "scattered fragments" of it blocked the path of progress on which the Nation trod in a development absolutely without parallel in all the history of nations. Nor did any "ruins of liberty" suffice to call to halt, even for a moment, this mighty people as it built up waste places, strengthened weak places, settled our purified and widened institutions upon immovable foundations, paid the debt of the war, brought England to settlement for her offenses against neutrality, and, by wisdom and skill and honorable dealing with all questions, placed the country upon a very pinnacle of honor.

Such is the reply which history makes to the vaporings of the Democratic National Convention of 1868.

THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT.

But the enfranchisement of colored male citizens for purposes of reconstruction under the Military Reconstruction Act, and subsequently by provisions in the new constitutions of those nine States, led logically to the enfranchisement of that class in all the States.

In some of these States they had long had suffrage. But in most of them they had never had suffrage. In order to give equality and universality to this right, the Fifteenth Amendment was proposed by Congress and adopted by the legislatures. The subject was considered during much of the last session of the Fortieth Congress, and by a committee of conference was finally brought into the shape in which it passed. The vote in the House of Representatives, February 25, 1869, was over three to one for it (144 to 44); in the Senate, the next day, exactly three to one (39 to 13). Not a single Democrat in either house supported it. The

whole power of that party resisted it in the State legislatures. But it received approval of the necessary number, and on the 30th day of March, 1870, it was formally declared to be a part of the Constitution. President Grant deemed the occasion of its ratification worthy of a special message, in which he pronounced this a "measure of grander importance than any other one act of the kind from the foundation of our free government to the present day." Its pregnant words were that "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

In the States of the North the right thus conferred has been freely conceded, and the new electorate has taken its place at the polls.

In the States immediately south of the old border line the right has been more grudgingly conceded.

In the States of the Gulf the right has been practically annulled. In them a new nullification has been organized. The rights given in the Fifteenth Amendment are, within them, paper rights—not actual rights. The fact of suppression is admitted. The excuse is that such suppression is necessary to the domination of the white race in those States, and to the maintenance of what they call their "civilization." So the election frauds of 1855 in Kansas were justified as necessary to the maintenance of the "civilization" of which slavery was the crown and jewel. A "civilization" always exists. A desire to have power, also, always exists. It is convenient for those who enjoy a "civilization" and who luxuriate in power to be able to harmonize their love of both with a supreme desire to oppress and a vindictive desire to show contempt for a hated constitutional provision. In the Gulf States Democratic majorities for President and on Congress are no longer won. They are manufactured. Government of the people in them is overthrown. Government of a class is in its place, and that "class" the "class" which prides itself on its high "civilization." The achievement is its form of vengeance upon the Union for slavery abolished and for slaves enfranchised.

This suppression of the colored vote has had its stages.

Its first stage was one of violence, bloodshed, and terrorism. Some startling accounts of these methods are appended,* for they deserve to be remembered as a part of our present "civilization." These were done to get local control of those communities and States. With that accomplished, artful fraud, in the shape of cunning enactments executed by unscrupulous agents, has made permanent the fruits of the original crime.

As illustrating these devices for maintaining control, it may be mentioned that in Louisiana elections for State and county officers are held but once in four years, though the legislatures so chosen meet biennially. In that State, Georgia, Alabama, and other States, elections for State officers are held at different

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**Extracts from General Philip H. Sheridan's reports from New Orleans:* 1875, *January* 4: "It is with deep regret I have to announce to you the existence in this State of a spirit of defiance to all lawful authority, and an insecurity of life which is hardly realized by the general government or the country at large."

1875, *January* 5: "I think that the terrorism now existing in Louisiana, Mississippi, and Arkansas could be entirely removed, and confidence and fair-dealing established, by the arrest and trial of the ringleaders of the armed White Leagues."

1875, *January* 10: "Since the year 1866 nearly thirty-five hundred persons, a great majority of whom were colored men, have been killed and wounded in this State. In 1868 the official record shows that eighteen hundred and eighty-four were killed and wounded. From 1868 to the present time no official investigation has been made, and the civil authorities in all but a few cases have been unable to arrest, convict, and punish perpetrators. There is ample evidence to show that more than twelve hundred persons have been killed and wounded during this time on account of their political sentiments. Human life in this State is held so cheaply, that when men are killed on account of political opinions, the murderers are regarded rather as heroes than as criminals in the localities where they reside, and by the White League and their supporters."

Extract from President Grant's Message of July 31, 1876: "In regard to Louisiana affairs, murders and massacres of innocent men for opinion's sake, or on account of color, have been of too recent date and of too frequent occurrence to require recapitulation here. All are familiar with their horrible details, the only wonder being that so many justify them or apologize for them."

Extract from President Grant's Letter to Governor Chamberlain of South Carolina, July 26, 1876: "The scene at Hamburg, as cruel, bloodthirsty, wanton, unprovoked, and as uncalled for as it was, is only a repetition of the course that has been pursued in other States within the last few years, notably in Mississippi and Louisiana. Mississippi is governed to-day by officials chosen through fraud and violence, such as would scarcely be accredited to savages, much less to a civilized and Christian people."

dates from elections of Representatives in Congress and President, so as to avoid the presence at the polls, in State elections, of U. S. supervisors and marshals of opposite political parties, who are authorized to be appointed with a view to secure a fair election and an honest count and return.

In South Carolina, the State elections, though held on the same day as national elections, have the ballot-boxes in different places; there is a ballot-box for each officer voted for; each voter is required to assort his ticket into these various boxes; any ticket dropped into the wrong box is annulled; and the person in charge of the election-poll is *permitted*, not required, to assist electors in distributing their tickets. Thus, the law makes easy a defeat of this right by imposing on the voter the duty of distributing the ticket to the various boxes, and making a mistake on such distribution work a defeat of his vote.

In most of these States tax and registering provisions are made intentionally perplexing and arbitrary, so as to diminish the poll. All this infernal enginery is manifestly intended to defeat the free exercise of the right of suffrage, by wearying out the proscribed class. When allusion was recently made in the Senate of the United States to some of these methods, Senator Eustis of Louisiana replied: "It is none of your business."

This defiance from Louisiana had scarcely died away when a voice from North Carolina made clear the object. It was the voice of the Governor of the State, General Alfred M. Scales, late of the Confederate Army. In a speech before the Democratic State Convention, at Raleigh, May 30, 1888, he is reported as saying that "however much the Democrats of this State were divided over the tariff, the internal revenue, the Blair [educational] bill, and the best means whereby to get rid of the surplus, they were united on the question that this was a white man's government and white men must rule it. He said this was THE question of questions; that it had kept the South solid since 1876, and would keep it so in this campaign."

This is equal to saying that the black man, notwithstanding his constitutional right of suffrage, is to be pressed as closely and tightly to the wall as possible, and that the rights given

by the Fifteenth Amendment are to be nullified as completely as possible.

A "white man's government." This is the familiar lingo of slavery's days, yet living in the mouths of Southern Democrats, who purchase from Northern Democrats acquiescence in all which it implies, by the political power which these crimes bring with them. This conspiracy against free representative government and against a plain provision of the Constitution of the United States recalls the like conspiracy, between the same parties, in 1852, 1856, and 1860, whereby the Kentucky resolutions of 1798 were, in consideration of electoral votes, injected into the Democratic National Platform, and made the basis of Democratic faith.

Nevertheless, the right to the suffrage remains. Those entitled to it remain. The right cannot always be denied. Those who have the right cannot be driven from the country. There will come a time when the present shame will be wiped out, when men will be regarded as dishonored who profit by such crimes, and when the Democratic party will no longer consent to accept power by means which bring turpitude with victory. Probably they will amend their ways, after they shall have had full time to outgrow the debauching influences of slavery which have for forty years besmirched their career and which yet beslime their character.

The result is that the Confederate South has, by 1888, gained all for which from 1865 to 1867, as it was emerging from rebellion, it made a stand.

Then it arrayed its States solidly against, and defeated, the modified suffrage which was at first proposed, but was afterwards under their frown abandoned, by President Johnson. It was an unbroken phalanx against the Fourteenth Amendment because that made the enlarged or diminished representation of the States to depend upon their conceding or denying male colored suffrage. And it has, as to themselves, paralyzed the Fifteenth Amendment, which was presumed to have given universality and permanence, reality and sacredness, to this invaluable right.

The definite purpose of the Confederate South formed in

1865, that when restored it should wield the whole representative power of those States by force of its own ballots only, and without division or diminution, has been achieved. It was unable by force of circumstances to prevent the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment. It was also unable, for the same reason and at a later date, to prevent the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment. But by the unit of its power, and the help of allies who, sharing in benefits from its crimes, wink at the guilt, both of the amendments have in their widest sphere of operation been reduced to the smallest proportion of results. They are as vessels of honor turned by hating hands into vessels of dishonor. Their prohibitions and their grants have alike become words without force or virtue. Their prohibitions fail to prevent. Their grants fail to confer. And the penalty imposed for violation is as sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal.

LINCOLN'S PROBABLE ACTION.

Such having been the fate of Johnson's defeated plan of restoration, and such the result of the Congressional plan of reconstruction, including the amendments, the interesting inquiry arises, What form would the solution of this problem have probably taken had Lincoln been permitted to meet the responsibilities of this trust?

Was the Johnson plan of restoration substantially what Lincoln's would have been?

Here the ground is less solid than that we have been treading. But certain conspicuous facts permit a reasonably certain answer. Assuming what may not be improbable, that Lincoln would not have called Congress together in the summer of 1865, but would have essayed restoration upon his own ideas, it would follow that the form of it would in that event have been similar to Johnson's, but the substance of it essentially different. Nor is this a matter of conjecture. This subject absorbed much of Lincoln's thought, and on it he had a distinctly traceable growth. In 1863, when his mind was first engaged with the problem of reconstruction, he gave the public his "present impressions." They are in

his Amnesty Proclamation of December 8. He was then intensely anxious for peace, and made advances to get it. He asked for the colored population "permanent freedom" and "education," but was prepared to concede as a "temporary arrangement" a system of apprenticeship in the hope that through some such practical method the two races could be lifted out of their old relations and be prepared for the new. For he then had in mind and expressed his sense of the "confusion and destitution" which would attend a total revolution of labor throughout whole States. Apprenticeship was thus to serve as a bridge.

But by the time he came to the stream—sixteen months later—he found that the bridge was entirely inadequate, so clarifying had been the logic of rapidly-occurring events. In his last speech, April 11, 1865, he discused the "Free State* Constitution of Louisiana," then pending, and said of the absence from it of colored suffrage that he would himself "prefer that it were now conferred on the very intelligent, and on those who serve our cause as soldiers." There is a wide space between "apprenticeship" for all and "suffrage" for some, but Lincoln traversed it between those dates. To suppose that this special man, of deeply-rooted and daily strengthening anti-slavery convictions, with deep desire to extract from the great convulsion a "just and lasting peace" for his country, would, with such an opportunity, have failed, if he had been thwarted as his successor was, to employ every resource of diplomacy and tact, his inflexible purpose and high resolve, for the imbedding in the Constitutions of those States and of the Union masculine provisions whose principles, it is

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*In marking Lincoln's growth, his letter to Governor Hahn of the "Free State" movement is valuable. It is dated March 13, 1864, and says, touching the suffrage clause for the new constitution: "I barely suggest, for your private consideration, whether some of the colored people may not be let in, as, for instance, the very intelligent and especially those who have fought gallantly in our ranks. They would probably help, in some trying time to come, to keep the jewel of liberty in the family of freedom. But it is only a suggestion, not to the public, but to you alone." This was written only five months after his Amnesty Proclamation of December 8, 1863.

known, had the approval of his judgment and his conscience is to do equal violence to probabilities and proofs.

Undoubtedly, he would have been content with nothing less than a large and ever-widening measure of suffrage. That he would have imperatively required immediate manhood suffrage cannot safely be asserted, though there is evidence that he was rapidly gravitating to universal amnesty and universal suffrage as a basis for re-union. But there is no reason to suppose that when confronted by the perils which compelled the Thirty-ninth Congress to impose on the insurrectionary States manhood suffrage, he would have rejected the only remedy remaining. But whether the ultimate result would have been materially different from that which has actually occurred would have depended less upon the purpose of Lincoln or the will of the whole people than upon the willingness of the Confederates to carry out in their States in good faith the conditions on which their restoration to the political power which they had once ruthlessly abused had been made dependent. For, under our system, it is hard to influence the people of the States, in their ordinary political action, except by the moral arguments which are based upon conscience and duty.

A RETROSPECT.

Looking back thirty-four years, it is instructive to observe the line by which the nation has moved, from its situation in 1854 to its vastly-changed situation in 1888. These facts are manifest.

The Compromise measures of 1850 had left slavery in a more secure position than it had occupied since the agitation over it began.

The territorial questions had, all of them, been definitely settled—each, as it had arisen, by an adjustment of limits, or an application of principle which was agreed upon at the time of acquisition and was then more or less completely executed. There was no point open, and none debatable, except whether at a future time slavery should not be abolished, with or without compensation, in the District of Columbia,

and whether the fugitive-slave law might not be modified as to a minor detail or two, or possibly repealed. There was not enough in either issue to keep a party alive. The country had settled down into absolute acquiescence in the settlement which bore the sanction of such names as Clay and Webster, of Fillmore and Badger, of Benton and Cass. The anti-slavery leaders in the Senate and House of Representatives felt the ground slipping from under their feet. Their disappearance from public life had already begun, and their general supersedure was a question of but a few years. Their work was believed by themselves to be over, when a suggestion made in recklessness, in February, 1854, and adopted from ambition, changed the whole face of affairs, and amazed the country by the repudiation and annulment of the Missouri Compromise of 1820 at the moment when the free States of the Union were about to come into the enjoyment of the benefits it had promised.

This contract of 1820 had about it every element of sacredness which could be given by great names, by lapse of time, by portentous circumstances attending adoption. The territory of Kansas and Nebraska was undoubtedly a part of the territory which its terms were declared and designed to cover. Nothing was lacking to make clear the breach of faith which was intended, or the purpose of it. And when, through the connivance of the Pierce administration, whose chief in so doing broke his pledged word to the whole people, this act of treachery was actually done, the whirlwind was let loose. The whole controversy, territorial and constitutional, was opened up. Popular agitation, North and South, sought to seize and hold Kansas. The "rights" of slavery, which conceded no rights to freedom, were questioned at all points. In desperation the Supreme Court was called in to assert and define them.

Public opinion divided into three great classes, and the people divided into three great political bodies. Lincoln's election to the Presidency followed. Then, secession and rebellion. Then, the war and emancipation. Then, the Fourteenth Amendment and its rejection. Then, reconstruction and the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment. Then, to give com-

pleteness to all which had preceded, the Fifteenth Amendment. This was the series of events, each logically following the other, and in the series making and marking the broadest, quickest, and most far-reaching change in institutions known to history.

In all this the record of the Republican party has been without a stain. In 1860 it sought and expected no resistance to a fair election of its candidate. In 1861 it sadly accepted what was forced upon it. In 1865 it would have been content with emancipation and citizenship and qualified suffrage, but was defiantly refused these three necessary securities for the future. In 1869 it pledged itself to manhood suffrage because no honorable adjustment was then possible without it.

On the other hand, what is the record of the Democratic party? In 1854 it dishonorably made itself a party to the breaking of the pledge of 1820—therein breaking its own pledge f 1852. In 1861 it unpatriotically stood, smiling and complacent, in the very presence of secession and rebellion. In 1864, as if wearied with its burden of assumed unionism, it demanded surrender to rebellion. In 1865, false to every instinct of liberty, it resisted the initial act of emancipation, before which the darkness of ages is vanishing, as fog before the sun. And from 1868 to 1888, false to every instinct of a true democracy, it has steadily resisted equality of citizenship and equality of suffrage, and alone found pleasure in the oppression of the weak and the spoliation of the unprotected. In no republic, ancient or modern, has any party ever made itself so worthy of the scorn of the generous and the just.

THE FINANCIAL RECORD OF THE PARTIES.

The Lincoln administration inherited from the Buchanan administration a bankrupt treasury and an impaired credit, as well as an armed rebellion.

It is a suggestive commentary on the sort of government which the Democratic party was wont to give the country in its halcyon days, that for the four fiscal years preceding June 30, 1861, the ordinary revenues had been inadequate to meet the ordinary expenditures. In the fiscal

year 1858 the ordinary revenues were $46,655,365.96; the ordinary expenditures, $72,291,119.70—a deficit of over twenty-five millions. In the fiscal year 1859 the ordinary revenues were $53,486,465.64; the ordinary expenditures, $66,327,405.72—a deficit of thirteen millions. In the fiscal year 1860 the ordinary revenues were $56,054,599.83; the ordinary expenditures, $60,010,112.58—a deficit of four millions. All these years were years of peace. In the fiscal year ended June 30, 1861, the ordinary revenues were $41,476,299.49; the ordinary expenditures, $62,537,171.62—a deficit of twenty-one millions. The latter half of this fiscal year covered the opening movements of secession. During these four years the government ran in debt about sixty-three million dollars. How was this annually recurring deficit met? By the cowardly policy of issuing treasury notes.

Mr. Speaker Carlisle in his speech in the House of Representatives on May 19, 1888, felicitates the Democratic party upon the fact that during the entire existence of the tariff of 1846–'57 the administration was able to borrow money, giving five per cent interest, without paying a premium for it.

As the last twelve years of this period were peaceful years, the wonder is, not that the Government of the United States was able to sell its interest-bearing notes or bonds at par, but that it was required to sell them at all. Why were the expenditures not kept within the revenues? Why were the revenues not enlarged so as to meet the expenditures? What ought to be said of a fiscal policy which in ordinary times and for years together does not make both ends meet? What would be the common judgment of the capability of a trustee who conducted on that principle the business confided to him? Treasury notes were not intended to be the daily support of the government. They had their origin and their justification in the War of 1812. Repeated resort to them in times of peace by the Democratic party as an alternative to adequate taxation is to its discredit, and is one of the many proofs and illustrations of its cowardice through a career in which it showed no courage except in support of the slave

system and all its inventions. Borrowing money, rather than imposing needed taxes, has always been its characteristic subterfuge.

Besides, during the period of uncertainty as to the next Presidential election, the Slave Power had a special motive to acquiesce, as it saw revenue fall off and debt pile up. By so much it was rendered less anxious about the activities of the future.

So, for four years, it had gone on borrowing, until the public debt on the 30th June, 1860, was $64,769,703.08.

Of this debt nearly twenty millions were treasury notes which had been issued at various times since 1857, and which were past due. When, after the election of Mr. Lincoln in 1860, the secession movement was developed, a panic ensued. Bidders for a public loan, made in September, 1860, hesitated to carry out the contract. The overdue treasury notes came into the Treasury rapidly for redemption.

Howell Cobb, Secretary of the Treasury, reported to Congress in December, 1860, that those not yet due were being paid in for customs, thus depriving the government of its principal source of revenue. He added that the "necessities of the Treasury demand prompt action." He asked for authority to issue more treasury notes, and that the "public lands be unconditionally pledged for their ultimate redemption." He gave as the reason for issuing more treasury notes "that capitalists in the present condition of the country seem unwilling to invest in United States stock at par," and that the "remaining sum of eleven millions cannot now be negotiated upon terms acceptable to the government." The pledge suggested by Mr. Cobb would have been a futile pledge. The pledge which the country wanted was precisely the pledge which Mr. Cobb could not and would not give—an assurance of fidelity to his trust. While his previous bids were awaiting final execution he wrote letters to New York discrediting the bonds and expressing doubt whether they would ever be paid. And within one week after making to Congress his annual report he resigned his place in President Buchanan's Cabinet—"his duty to Georgia requiring it."

His immediate successor, Philip F. Thomas, on December 28, 1860, asked for bids for $5,000,000 of six-per-cent treasury notes. But half that amount were offered, and they at a rate of discount ranging from seven to thirty-six per cent. By the middle of January, 1861, John A. Dix of New York having become Secretary, the discount for the remainder of the loan ranged from eight and a half to fifteen per cent. And by the middle of February $8,000,000 more were sold at an average of $100 for about $90.50. With such brilliancy of financial record the Buchanan administration went out.

The War came, and with it the public debt grew. By June 30, 1861, it had become, less cash in the Treasury, $87,718,060.80. It bounded on from $505,312,752.17 on June 30, 1862, to $1,111,350,737.41 in 1863, to $1,709,452,277.04 in 1864, to $2,674,815,856.76 in 1865, reaching by August 31, 1865, the maximum aggregate of $2,756,431,571.43. Twenty years thereafter, when the executive control passed to Democratic hands, this enormous aggregate had been reduced to $1,375,352,443.91, or about one half. The annual interest account, which was in August, 1865, $150,977,697.87, had fallen to $47,014,133 in 1885. And meanwhile both tariff and internal-revenue taxes had been reduced at the rate of about $360,000,000 a year, making as the basis of calculation the business of the country as it existed when the respective reductions were made. In other words, if taxation as it existed in 1865 had remained untouched, and if the general business of the country had continued to be no larger than it was in 1865, the Treasury would have received $360,356,354 a year more than it did receive, and the whole existing debt could have been paid many years ago. The Treasury which the new Democratic administration received from the retiring Republicans in 1885 was as striking an illustration of the genius and patriotism of the Republican party as the Treasury of 1861 was proof of a very different character in the Democratic party.

The world has not yet ceased wondering at these results, which so great an observer as Bismarck has pronounced the "most illustrious of modern time." *

* Witness the splendid tribute from Bismarck: "The success of the United

What were the means by which the Republican party wrought them out? The secret is, the Republican party by its directness, frankness, and fidelity challenged the respect and won the confidence of the country, and impressed itself upon the people, who were anxious to give trust, that it was worthy to receive trust. As a consequence, the people gladly accepted it as their representative, poured their money into the public treasury, and made the public cause their personal cause. For this they had had under Democratic administration no inducement.

In the beginning, Secretary Chase announced as his fundamental maxim that "taxation" was necessary to the extent of the ordinary expenditures, the interest on the public debt, and for a sinking fund for the gradual extinction of the principal. And "taxation" substantially adequate to these ends was imposed. He denied that perpetual debt was of American nativity. He insisted that it should not be naturalized. He maintained that every debt should be provided for when it was created, and that "if the exacting emergencies of war constrained to temporary departure from the principle of adequate taxation, the first moments of returning tranquillity should be devoted to its re-establishment in full supremacy over the financial administration of affairs." The issues of paper made were of a variety: bonds payable in 20 years; bonds payable in 40 years; 7.30 treasury notes redeemable in 3 years; treasury notes redeemable in 2 years; treasury notes redeemable in 1 year; certificates of indebtedness running 1 year; temporary loans for not less than 30 days; postal currency; fractional

States in material development is the most illustrious of modern time. The American Nation has not only successfully borne and suppressed the most gigantic and expensive war of all history, but immediately afterward disbanded its army, found employment for all its soldiers and marines, paid off most of its debt, given labor and homes to the unemployed of Europe as fast as they could arrive within its territory, and still by a system of taxation so indirect as not to be perceived, much less felt. Because it is my deliberate judgment that the prosperity of America is mainly due to its system of protective laws, I urge that Germany has now reached that point where it is necessary to imitate the tariff system of the United States."

currency; "greenbacks." The rate of interest on bonds and notes ran from 7.30 to 4 per cent.

The taxing power went hand in hand with the borrowing. Increased rates of customs duty largely swelled those revenues, and a comprehensive internal-revenue taxation was devised which, from 1862 to 1887 inclusive, has produced the enormous sum, exclusive of commissions, of $3,557,127,756.

Coincident with these measures was the plan for giving the people a stable currency. Prior to 1861 the bank-note circulation was issued by about sixteen hundred private corporations organized under the laws of thirty-four States. These corporations had a "circulation, commonly, in the inverse ratio of solvency," causing great fluctuations and heavy losses in discounts and exchanges. Secretary Chase proposed in his report of December 9, 1861, that these corporations be brought into a national system; that they deposit as security for circulation a proper amount of United States stocks; that they receive from the United States in return an equivalent amount in notes bearing a common impression and authenticated by a common authority, and that they be redeemed by the institutions to which they may be delivered for issue. It was urged that by wise legislation the great transition from a currency heterogeneous, unequal, and unsafe to one uniform, equal, and safe may be speedily and almost imperceptibly accomplished. Besides, the system had the advantage of furnishing a demand for, and permanent investment in, several hundred millions of bonds of the United States. This, however, was not accomplished till the spring of 1863, and it represented by April, 1865, the bonds which secured a circulation of $146,927,975.

By these various enactments the necessary funds for maintaining the war were provided.

The tariff duties for the four fiscal years ending with June 30, 1861, averaged $46,031,270.71 a year. In the next five fiscal years they averaged $96,881,421.03 a year. The gain in this kind of revenue during those five years over the preceding average in four was a little over fifty millions a year. This amount was the measure of annual good which can be

credited to that legislation. The internal-revenue taxes levied during the same period produced up to 1866, inclusive, over six hundred and sixty-six millions of dollars. The cash gain to the Treasury from 1861 to 1866, inclusive, from those two sources, was thus eight hundred and sixteen millions of dollars. The gain to the country was beyond computation. These many millions were the basis on which rested the whole fabric of treasury credit. They were the indispensable means to the maintenance of the armies of the Union.

It is a suggestive and mortifying yet actual fact that the Democratic Senators and Representatives in Congress were arrayed in almost solid opposition to all this tariff and internal-revenue legislation of 1861, 1862, and 1864. Likewise, they were unwilling to assist in establishing the national banking system in 1863. This supersedure of the various State banking systems by a national banking system had for its primary object the strengthening in a critical period of the position of the national treasury. To make United States bonds the basis of the note circulation of banks was to insure a large demand for United States bonds, of which demand they were in great need. Besides, taking the banks out from under State control into national control was to insure for the government the help of these institutions, many of which had been unfriendly and had thrown out treasury notes at the first sign of trouble. The act was proposed and passed, not at all as a favor to the banks, but as an aid to the United States. To the people it has been a vast beneficence. It goes without saying that the Democracy, in Congress and out of it, were in no mood to approve such a measure. They violently disapproved it. Opposing it made complete their opposition to all the great tax and money measures of the war.

They were much too shrewd to oppose the passage of bills authorizing loans or bills making appropriations of money. They had no objections to loans or appropriations *per se;* and they did not pant for a direct issue with the soldiery and other creditors of the nation. Their opposition took the more covert and more effective form of voting against all the taxation which would raise revenue and form a basis of credit, and all

the laws which would supply soldiers to our depleted armies.

In the case of every such proposition they had a difficulty. The taxes levied were too high, or they were not properly adjusted to each other, or, forsooth, they were not collectible by officers appointed by the proper authority. So they could not vote for the Enrollment Acts of 1863 and 1864, because there was no constitutional power to raise "forced levies" for an army of volunteers, and because coercion by means of such an act would be an "unconstitutional mode of coercion." As a result of this series of convenient scruples, it came about that the Democracy in Congress declined to help fill the Treasury with taxes which the people were perfectly willing to pay, and the army with soldiers who preferred being called to the army to volunteering into it. But their opposition availed not. Money and troops were both raised, and the alleged unconstitutionality of the method, even if true, does not detract a whit from the completeness of the victory, or its moral magnificence.

But the "alleged unconstitutionality" was not true. Had the Democratic Senators and Representatives in Congress set out to starve the Nation, or to make the army an easy prey to its enemies, the policy which they adopted was the policy which an intelligent purpose would have required them to adopt. It is thus impossible for an intelligent student of the history of those times to find that the Democracy were faithful to the country during the eventful years which began in 1861 and ended in 1865. But the period of their especial guilt was from 1863 to 1865, when they definitely placed love of slavery before love of Union. In all that was done to overthrow slavery they bore no part. In all that was done to save the Union they bore little part. Their tone was always that of criticism. Their favorite *rôle* was objection. Their enjoyment was found in obstruction. They habitually poised in an attitude of expectancy. They always held themselves as if preparing for disaster. But the disaster which they expected and for which they were prepared did not come to give them joy. The disaster which did come brought them shame and confusion.

THE RESUMPTION OF SPECIE PAYMENTS.

The early financial measures of the government were based on the theory that the Rebellion would be quickly subdued, and that specie payments would be maintained.

Both suppositions proved erroneous. This hope disappeared after the military reverses of the summer of 1861 and the unexpected delays in the fall of that year. The latter had caused an enormous growth in expenditure, with no corresponding result; and as new issues of paper and new loans became necessary, the maintenance of specie payments was seen to be impossible. The banks suspended on the 31st of December, 1861, and the government followed. Eight months of test had proved that the task before the Nation would tax its energies and resources as they had never been taxed, and that victory could come only after large outlays of treasure and serious loss of life. This condition of suspension lasted till January 1, 1879—a period of eighteen years.

By January 1, 1862, the army consisted of 700,000 men. An active navy was in process of organization. The expenses were two millions of dollars a day. Congress had been in session one month, and had not had time to mature and pass necessary tax bills.

During the next three months one hundred million dollars were imperatively required. How were they to be raised? A "legal tender" issue was proposed. At once, New York, Boston, and Philadelphia banks sent a delegation to remonstrate. They asked that a proper tax bill be passed; that no demand treasury notes be issued; that two-year treasury notes be issued, receivable for public dues, except duties, to the amount of $100,000,000; that the banks be made depositories of the government for all loans; that six-per-cent bonds be issued and sold without limitation as to price; and that temporary loans be authorized, secured by hypothecation of these bonds, which were to be sold at market price if the loans were not paid at maturity. Further negotiation procured a partial modification of these cut-throat terms—all being directed, in part, to the avoidance of the issue of a "legal tender" currency.

But a few days' experience showed how futile were all such plans. The situation admitted of but one remedy.

Within one month, the Secretary of the Treasury found himself unable to sell treasury notes bearing 7.30 per cent interest except at a discount, or 3.65 notes except at a greater discount. The floating debt at that moment was about $180,000,000; and it was certain that $600,000,000 would be required to carry the country through the campaign of 1862.

The Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives reported on the 22d of January, 1862, the bill which became the "Legal Lender" Act. On the 29th of January the Secretary of the Treasury advised the committee that "it is at present impossible to procure sufficient coin for disbursements, and it has, therefore, become indispensably necessary that we should resort to the issue of United States notes." He admitted his great aversion to making anything but coin "a legal tender in payment of debts," but found the justification for this in the necessity of the case. Primarily, enormous expenditures compelled the issue. But, secondarily, it was enforced by the fact that there were institutions and persons who refused to receive and pay out the treasury notes previously issued, to the manifest hurt of the government itself, and to the injury of those institutions and persons who were willing, in this great emergency, to receive and pay out these obligations and help their country. He recommended legislation providing for their funding into twenty-year six-per-cent bonds, the creation of a banking system based on such bonds, and a "judicious system of adequate taxation." Such legislation, he hoped, "would secure the earliest possible return to a sound currency of coin and promptly convertible notes."

On the 3d of February the Secretary of the Treasury advised Congress that immediate action was of great importance; that the Treasury was nearly empty; that he had drawn for the last installment of the November loan; and that, so soon as it was paid, he feared the banks would refuse to receive the treasury notes. The debate had been in progress for some days. The bill was assailed as involving the "destruction of all standards of value;" as "disordering the

operations of trade and commerce;" as involving the ultimate bankruptcy alike of the government and the people. It was denounced as without precedent in the history of the country, and as being the exercise of a power which no man had ever before claimed that the government possessed.

The answer was that the passage of the bill was essential to the very existence of the government; that Congress under its powers to raise and support armies, to borrow money and provide for the general welfare had the discretion to determine what were the necessary available means; that all money contracts are made not only with a view to the present laws, but subject to the future legislation of the country; that England had, by a like provision, in a like emergency, protected herself against a like danger; and that it involved to no one a special injustice. After full debate the bill passed both Houses, and was approved by the President, February 25, 1862. The first issue authorized was of $150,000,000. This was in February, 1862. Four months thereafter $150,000,000 more were authorized. Eight months thereafter $150,000,000 more were authorized, of which $50,000,000 were to be used as temporarily required for the redemption of temporary loans. As the issue increased in volume its purchasing power declined. By July, 1862, when $96,620,000 were in circulation, a "greenback" dollar was worth in gold 86.6 cents. By July, 1863, when $297,767,114 were in circulation, a "greenback" dollar was worth in gold 76.6 cents. By July, 1864, when $431,178,671 were in circulation, a "greenback" dollar was worth in gold 38.7 cents.

The figures indicate an increasingly desperate situation. Instinctively, the two parties proposed two characteristic remedies. The Republicans in Congress met the peril by declaring a purpose to make the present issue of "greenbacks" the fixed limit, and to depend for further needed revenue on further taxation and more bonds. The Democrats, in National Convention, met the peril by proposing to stop the war and seek peace through a convention of the States. The Republicans gave the pledge, kept it, and pushed on, with vigor, through the Wilderness to Appomattox.

Within thirteen years from the issue of the "greenbacks" the

principal of the interest-bearing debt had, under Republican legislation, been reduced over six hundred million dollars; the annual interest-charge had been reduced to seventy-five million dollars; the debt bearing no interest had been reduced by thirty-seven million dollars; the total debt, less cash in the Treasury, to about two thousand million dollars; and the burden of the whole debt had fallen from $78.25 *per capita* to $47.44.

Having put in the way of extinction the funded debt caused by the Rebellion, the Republican party proceeded, in 1875, to relieve the people of the evils of a depreciated and fluctuating currency.

They provided for the redemption in coin, on the 1st of January, 1879, of the "United States legal tender notes then outstanding," and to make "free" to all and at once the privileges conferred by the national banking system. The act provided for retiring the fractional currency; for a reduction of the "legal tender" circulation in connection with the issue of bank circulation until the limit of $300,000,000 for "legal tender" notes was reached; and named January 1, 1879, as the date at which these notes were to be redeemed in coin. Four years were thus given for preparation, so that market values might be adjusted to it, and the people prepare in their multifarious business relations for the change. This "legal tender" circulation had been issued, it will be remembered, as a "military necessity." Notwithstanding such "necessity," it had been opposed in 1862 on constitutional grounds, by a united and vindictive Democracy. In their view it was an unauthorized and dishonored issue, a forced loan, a menace to business, an unjust invasion of the sanctity of private rights. To them it had been as nothing that the circumstances which called the notes into being were such an overwhelming national necessity as always subordinates minor interests to the greater and all-absorbing interest.

Now the opportunity was offered the fault-finding Democracy to aid in wiping out the dishonor and removing the menace which their issue was alleged to have involved and to be continually involving. And, marvelous to relate, they refused to participate in the effort, and stood as one man

in opposition. They persisted in maintaining all the evils both of principle and policy against which they had fiercely inveighed in 1862, and practically insisted upon the excellence of a currency which they had denounced as unconstitutional and which they were acting so as to keep unredeemed. Nevertheless the bill passed. It had a majority of 18 in the Senate and 38 in the House.

A few Republicans who desired an earlier day for redemption than January 1, 1879, voted against the final passage of the bill, but the old Democracy pretended to no such reason. What were their reasons for opposition? All claimed to be resumptionists, but none favored this way of getting to resumption. As and always before, they preferred some other thing to the pending thing. One of them feared that the "proper conditions" did not exist in the country, and he must be excused. Another regarded the bill as rather adverse than favorable to resumption, and he begged to be excused. A third would not support it because it did not contain an outright and instantaneous repeal of the Legal Tender Act, which would redress the "great wrong perpetrated in 1862;" therefore he went on the other side. A fourth regarded the bill as a "juggle," and he esteemed himself too virtuous to become a juggler. And a fifth was sure that under the bill the country would be no nearer specie payments in 1879 than it then was in 1875; and as "money in reality as well as in name" was very near to his heart, he felt compelled to utter a sharp, shrill Nay.

So it came that all these "resumptionists" voted against resumption. The bill was not a good enough resumption bill for them. Thus they completed a record distinguished by maliciousness in the beginning of war legislation with a record distinguished by ignorance at the end of it—for resumption was effected under that act as then passed.

At once upon the approval of this act Democratic agitation and Democratic trimming began. When Congress met in December, 1875, the Democratic House threw every possible obstruction in the way of resumption. It voted by 54 majority against a resolution pledging themselves to sustain the Treasury in this effort. By a majority of two votes it passed

a resolution in favor of the repeal of the clause giving the Secretary power to sell U. S. bonds for the accomplishment of resumption. And it actually passed, by a majority of 20 votes, a bill to repeal the clause fixing a day for resumption. But the Republican Senate declined to participate in this demagogy, and it came to naught.

The Republican National Convention of 1876 demanded "continuous and steady progress to specie payment." Their candidate, Rutherford B. Hayes, promised to "approve every appropriate measure to accomplish the desired end, and oppose any steps backward."

The Democratic National Convention denounced as a "hindrance" to resumption the resumption clause of the act of 1875, and demanded its "repeal." Their candidate, Samuel J. Tilden, denounced a "legislative command fixing a day, an official promise fixing a day, as shams, as worse—a snare and a delusion to all who trust them." He predicted that the then existing plan for resumption "would end in a new suspension," which would be a "fresh calamity, prolific of confusion, distrust, and distress." But he said he was in favor of advancing to a resumption of specie payments on its legal-tender notes "by gradual and safe processes tending to relieve the present business distress." Like the Democrats in Congress the year before, Tilden was in favor of resumption—at some other time, not at this time; in some other way, not in this way; at some other rate of speed, not at this rate; to the distress of some other generation, not of this generation.

One would have supposed, from the freeness of his criticism, that Mr. Tilden knew all about the subject of which he wrote. But events have incontestably proved that he knew nothing about it. Of his many predictions not one was fulfilled. Resumption came as intended and when intended. It came absolutely without a shock to the country or any part of it. But it severely shocked and dislocated such political gamesters as Mr. Tilden and the Democratic Senators and Representatives. They became stranded as leaders, discredited as prophets, critics without character, professed statesmen having no statesmanship. When Mr. Tilden wrote so freshly

of what would be the "inevitable failure" of resumption under the act of 1875, the "greenback" dollar was worth 90.2 cents in gold. It had advanced from 67.3 cents in 1865. During those eleven years, notwithstanding the large business "distress" which then weighed upon this tender-hearted candidate, it had appreciated about 33 per cent. It was then within 9.8 cents of par. His defeat and Hayes's inauguration gave the country an assurance of stable purpose; and within three months thereafter the "greenback" dollar was worth 94.7 cents, and in July, 1878, 99.4 cents. On the first of January, 1879, it became par, not only without injury to the country, but with a sense of infinite relief.

Thus the paper money of the Union, issued in its hour of weakness, was redeemed in its day of strength. The promise of 1862, made in gloom but in strong faith, became glorious fruition in 1879. In both the promise and the fruition the Democratic party had no part. The Republican party alone had the courage to issue it. The Republican party alone had the courage to redeem it.

THE CAMPAIGNS OF 1876, 1880, AND 1884.

At the election of 1876 Governor Hayes of Ohio was the Republican candidate, and Governor Tilden of New York the Democratic candidate. The poll was enormous, being a gain of 2,000,000 over that of 1872, and of 2,700,000 over the exciting election of 1868. Hayes received 4,033,768 votes; Tilden 4,285,992. There were 81,737 "Greenback" and 9,522 "Prohibition" votes. Tilden had a plurality of about 250,000 votes, but was in a minority of one in the electoral college, in which the vote stood: Hayes 185, Tilden 184. After a memorable struggle, Hayes was declared elected. Under circumstances of peculiar difficulty, he conducted the country with firmness through a perilous crisis. He maintained with dignity his rights as President, redeemed his public pledges with scrupulous exactitude, took advanced steps in the direction of civil-service reform, restored specie payments, and resisted with courage the repeal, by a Democratic Congress, of statutes en-

acted to protect polls from frauds and jury-boxes from the polluting presence of the criminal-sympathizing class.

The accession of President Hayes has come to be regarded in Democratic literature as the colossal fraud of the century. But the principle which controlled the Electoral Commission in its various judgments upon the points submitted to them is an impregnable one. It was, that the "votes to be counted are those presented by the States, and when ascertained and presented by the proper authorities of the States they must be counted." Outside of this principle all is chaos. If this were ever open to doubt, it must now be regarded settled since the recent act of 1887, defining how the Presidential count is to be made, enacts definitely that a determination, by the proper authorities of a State, of any controversy or contest concerning the appointment of electors in such State is "conclusive and shall govern in the counting of the electoral votes" of such State. The Democratic members of the Electoral Commission of 1877 unitedly resisted the application of this plain principle to the count of that year. But the Democratic members of Congress and the Democratic President of 1887 unitedly prescribed the rigid application of this plain principle to all future Presidential counts. The Democracy furnished in this a striking illustration of a most characteristic trait—applying to a pending case a convenient rule which suits their interests, and content to apply to all future cases a different rule which is the law. So happily do they blend present greed with future duties, their interests of to-day with their principles of to-morrow. The critical reader of events who carefully scans the fierce Democratic denunciations of the decisions of the Electoral Commission to which the country is quadrennially treated cannot help asking why the principle of the act of 1887 can be considered sound enough to control all future contests and not sound enough to have properly controlled the contest of 1877. The question will never be answered. But the denunciation will, nevertheless, go on.

But it is said that certain local Returning Boards illegally excluded from their count of the popular vote certain votes cast for the Tilden electors, and thereby changed the result.

The laws of those States gave those Boards this precise power, if on proofs made the facts justified such exclusion. These officers exercised this power upon their own judgment, as all officers must. Upon what proofs they acted is not now accurately known. If they abused their power and certified to a false result, and the electors so certified discharged that duty by casting their votes against the will of the majority of the legal votes cast at a legal election honestly held and honestly returned, the wrong was one for which the States had failed to provide a remedy, and for which, under our system, the Congress could not then prescribe a remedy. For the State could not reverse an act legally done, nor could the two houses of Congress, in counting the electoral vote, "inquire into the circumstances under which the primary vote for electors was given." Charges and counter-charges were freely made respecting frauds in the Presidential election. The facts were never fully inquired into, and the truth may never be known. But, whatever be the truth or falsehood of these various charges, the fact remains that as a question of law the act of the State bound the Commission and the Congress, and this rule is now impregnably established in statute as it was before in principle.

On the other side of this question there is no doubt. The discovery and interpretation of the "cipher telegrams," many of which were traced to Gramercy Park, New York City, make clear the existence among the Democratic leaders of a distinct purpose to meet the emergency by procuring, somehow, the vote of a Republican elector. This conspiracy had many ramifications. In the North it took the form of indignant remonstrance or seductive appeal. In the South it took the form of corruption. All failed. Tilden was beaten in the Electoral College, and was so discredited by the damaging proofs of his connection with the conspiracy to bribe that his party in 1880 could not be induced, by renominating him, to seek a vindication for him against the "fraud of 1876–'7." They chose to give their favor to one not known as a manager of politics. This refusal to renominate Tilden in 1880 was a confession that Tilden's party dare not go to the country on his record in the Presidential count of 1876. Notwithstanding

this confession, that party, at every recurring interval, has the effrontery to resolve how grievously Tilden was cheated and how beautifully he bore the injustice. The play is intended to be touching. It is merely ridiculous. The known crimes of the Democratic leaders in that connection can safely be set off against all the charges made by them against either the popular or the electoral count.

In 1880 James A. Garfield was the Republican candidate, and Winfield S. Hancock the Democratic. Both had served gallantly in the Union Army. But Garfield had also shone resplendently in the halls of legislation. In the election Garfield received 4,454,416 votes, and Hancock 4,444,952 votes. There were 308,578 "Greenback" votes and 10,305 "Prohibition." The popular vote of the two great parties was almost a tie, but Garfield had a majority of 59 in the Electoral College. His untimely death brought into the Presidency Chester A. Arthur. During his administration an advance step was taken in the duty of extirpating polygamy from Utah and other Territories; the Civil Service Act was passed; while the Tariff Act of 1883 and the American Merchant Marine Act gave marked relief to the business interests of the country.

In 1884 James G. Blaine was the Republican candidate, and Grover Cleveland the Democratic candidate. The campaign was the most disreputable since 1844, in the prominence given to malicious personalities and in the unimportance attached to policies and measures. The vote reached the aggregate of 10,067,610. Of these, Mr. Blaine had 4,851,081, Mr. Cleveland 4,874,968. There were 175,370 "Labor" votes, and 150,369 Prohibition. Cleveland had a plurality of 23,005 over Blaine, and a majority in the Electoral College of 37. But that majority was due to the 36 votes cast for Cleveland by the State of New York, in which the returns showed that he had a plurality of only 1,149. It has never been clear that the result as declared was the result shown by the ballots cast. But as it was manifestly impossible within the thirty days which elapsed between the election and the meeting of the Electoral College, to make a contest over the declared result in that State, where over one million of votes were cast, there was nothing left for the Re-

publicans to do but to acquiesce in the return, and allow Gov. Cleveland to be declared elected President. By so narrow a margin did the Republicans lose the Presidency, which had been in their hands for the last preceding twenty-four years.

A SUMMARY.

The Republican party established the homestead policy. James Buchanan vetoed it as unconstitutional. And it was unconstitutional according to the prevailing Democratic interpretations of that instrument. It was not unconstitutional according to the Republican interpretation of that instrument, which no court has yet been found to overthrow. That policy has, since 1861, established not less than 771,700 homes, representing three and a half millions of people, with lands under cultivation reaching an aggregate in acres equal to that of all the New England States, of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware put together.

By the power of courageous and intelligent legislation it has broken down the barriers which made our Atlantic and Pacific States strangers to each other, has fused all these varied elements of population into one harmonious whole, and given from each strength to the other.

It has shed the light of its just and humane spirit upon the problems connected with the Indian question.

It has steadily and discreetly antagonized the remaining "relic of barbarism," which at last gives signs of yielding in its sources of power.

To the last act in this direction President Cleveland declined to lend the weight of executive approval. He allowed it to become law by lapse of time. Unwilling to veto it, unable to "pocket" it, he sought avoidance in an attitude of indifference.

It has embedded in law the principles of civil-service reform, which a hostile Democracy discards but has not yet had the courage to attempt repeal.

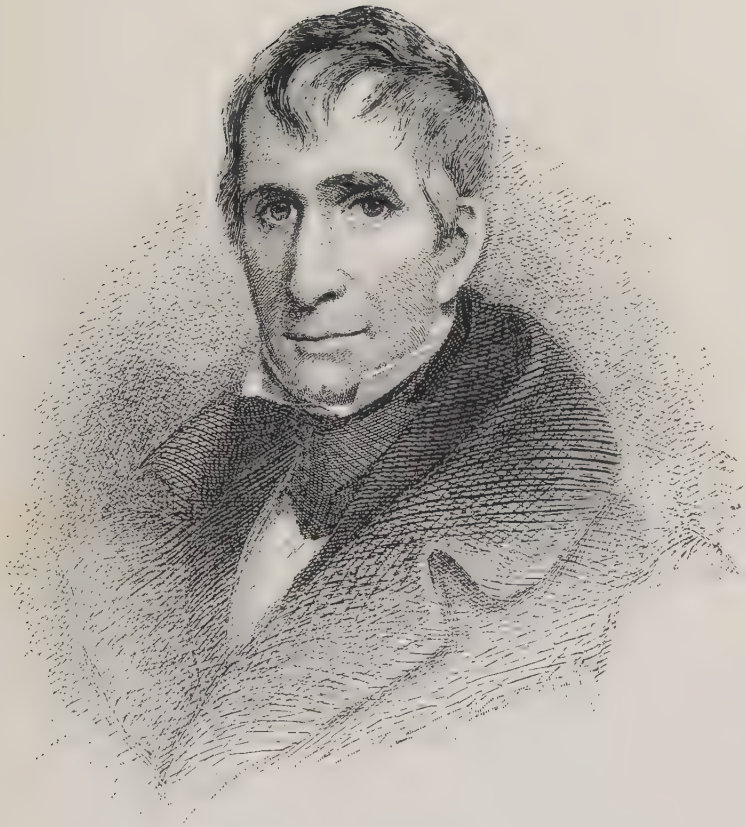
It stands ready to help cure the progressive illiteracy among voters, but finds relentless opposition in the Democratic party, which is most powerful in States which are most illiterate.

It is always and everywhere for an honest suffrage, for an honest count, for an honest return of the vote cast—a united Democracy giving to the same sacred cause a lip-service which it interprets by a dastardly record of acts.

It is the stalwart friend of every distinctively American thought, the defender of every American interest, and, by the very law of its being, the faithful protector of the rights of American labor, wherever or howsoever employed.

It embodies the only policies which are consistent with the highest, best development of the American people.

It represents the most brilliant post in the politics of civilization. By reason of causes within itself, it must be the great party of the future.



W. H. Harrison

PUBLIC LANDS.

By Hon. Lewis E. Payson, M. C. from Illinois.

The Republican party is entitled to the entire credit for the adoption of the Homestead Law.

No public question considered in recent years exceeds in importance that of the proper management and disposal of the public domain.

When the Republican party was organized, the vast area of arable land in the Mississippi Valley in the West and Northwest, as well as that greater area of territory lying westward and southwesterly to the Pacific Ocean, was largely the property of the government, undisposed-of public lands.

Besides these were lands in many localities in the South in like condition.

In a general sense, the only method of disposition of these lands had been by sale by the General Government, to realize money from them as an asset, as its necessities required and as capital would invest.

For many years the minimum price was two dollars per acre; all sales were at public auction, and only the remnants, after the close of the public sale, could be purchased at private sale.

Hence there was very little chance for a poor man to procure the desirable land for a home. However, beginning with the act of March 3, 1801, and ending with the act of March 27, 1854, various "pre-emption" acts were passed by Congress, giving a settler the first right or preference to purchase, as against one desiring to buy for investment or speculation.

The principal acts of this character were those of 1830 and 1841, known as the Pre-emption Laws.

These laws required not only settlement upon and improvement of the land, but a cash payment therefor of not less than one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre. So that the public-

land system was managed upon the principle of realizing as much revenue as possible from it.

In view of the fact that the settlers, as a rule, were poor but industrious men, carving homes for themselves and their families out of the wild, unbroken lands, the Republican party, at the very outset of its career, adopted the principle of giving small areas of public lands to actual occupants for homes. The history of the movement for "free homes for the people," for "lands for the landless," is both interesting and significant.

Whatever of credit grows out of the inauguration, maturing, and administering the Homestead Law of this day, the Republican party is entitled to it all.

Moreover, the results attained have been secured only by the most persistent efforts and against the earnest opposition of the Democratic party during all these years.

The Pre-emption Law, giving, as stated, a prior right of purchase to a settler, was in force when, in the Thirty-fifth Congress, Mr. Grow of Pennsylvania introduced in the House a bill providing in substance that no public lands should be sold at public auction until, at least, ten years after the same were surveyed and due return thereof made to the General Land Office.

This gave the settler ten years of preference over the speculator; but it was defeated by a vote of 73 for to 78 against. Not a Republican voted against it.

Again, on a bill relating to the then existing Pre-emption Law, in January, 1859, an amendment in substance like the bill just named was moved by Mr. Grow; this amendment was adopted by a vote of 97 to 81, every Republican voting for it; but the bill as amended was defeated by a vote of 91 for to 95 against. Every Republican, with a few Douglas Democrats, voted for the bill.

At the session of 1858–59 Mr. Grow re-introduced the Homestead Law, which is the basis of the Homestead Law now in force.

He had the same measure pending in the preceding Congress, but failed to secure consideration then; but the bill came

up for consideration on February 1, 1859, and met with the earnest opposition of the Democratic party in the House.

Parliamentary tactics were resorted to to defeat its consideration, but uselessly; and after a long debate upon it, it passed.

In advocating the passage of the bill, Mr. Grow asserted the Republican doctrine that the government should cease to look to the public lands as a source of revenue, and that they should be set apart and secured in limited quantities as free homes for actual settlers, instead of being left, as they were under the practice then, to be absorbed by the capital of the country in a vast system of land monopoly.

In earnest words he denounced the system of sales, and pleaded for free homesteads. After repeated attempts by the Democrats to smother the bill and failing, it passed by a vote of 120 to 76.

Every Republican save one voted for the bill, and the party policy on the question was established.

The bill went to the Senate; its consideration was antagonized there by the Democrats; it was in charge of Senator Wade of Ohio, and by a vote of 25 to 23 was taken up.

Under the rules the time limited for debate expired before a vote was had, and the pending subject then was a bill for the purchase of Cuba, and the contest was between these two bills —the one to acquire territory for the extension of slavery, the other to secure free homes for free men. The consideration of the Homestead Law was defeated, every Republican voting for it.

Senator Wade again presented the bill, and was defeated by a vote of 24 to 31, every Republican voting for it; and a week later the attempt was again made, with the same result.

After one more unsuccessful attempt that session, the matter was abandoned in the Senate for that term.

Public sentiment had been freely expressed as to the measure now, and in the Thirty-sixth Congress Mr. Grow again introduced the bill, and it was favorably reported by the Committee on Public Lands, and, after stubborn resistance and over dilatory motions by the Democrats, it was pressed to a vote and passed

by 115 to 65, the Republicans unanimously for it; all against it, Democrats.

The bill went to the Senate, a committee of which reported a substitute for the Grow bill, in substance fixing a price for the lands at 25 cents per acre, and excluding settlers then on the public lands from its benefits. Various unsuccessful efforts were made by the Republicans to substitute the Grow bill. The Senate bill finally passed; the House refused to accept it. Conferences were had, and finally, because the Senate would not yield, the House receded and accepted the Senate bill, but with the clear statement that the principle was not to be abandoned, and that the effort would be kept up until the free-homestead principle was established and all the public lands opened to the people for homes without cost.

This was on June 19, 1860; on the 23d, President Buchanan returned the bill to the Senate with his veto.

Except as to details not necessary to notice, he bases his objection to the bill on Democratic grounds of strict construction of the Constitution; that the small price fixed on the lands made them practically a gift, and certain other provisions of the bill, providing in contingency for donation of lands to the States, and that Congress had no power to dispose of the public lands by gift or donation as proposed.

The issue was clearly made; and the attempt to pass the bill over the veto failed, not receiving the necessary two-thirds vote.

But the great fight for free homes was not to end here; a great deal of feeling was exhibited throughout the North on the question.

The National Republican Convention met in Chicago and adopted this principle, in response to a clearly-understood sentiment of the membership of the party, in this form:

"*Resolved*, That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the free-homestead policy which regards the settlers as paupers or suppliants for public bounty; and we demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory homestead measure which has already passed the House."

The election of that year, resulting in a complete Republican victory, placed the entire control of the law-making power in the hands of the Republicans. The party was now for the first time in a position to make its views effective and enforce its policy; so that early in its exercise of power it passed the Homestead Law, in February, 1862, in substance as it now stands upon the statute-book.

Only three Republicans voted against it in the House, and only one Republican against it in the Senate.

It is distinctively a Republican measure; the Democratic party has never, in its national platforms, favored or approved the principle it embraces.

In 1856 the Democracy asserted that the proceeds of the public lands ought to be applied to national objects specified in the Constitution.

In 1860 the Republican platform contained the plank quoted above, while the Democratic platform was silent upon it, although the discussion had been earnest, in Congress and out, for the two preceding years.

In 1864 and 1868 the Republicans stood by their declaration of 1860, and the execution of the law they had passed.

In 1872 the Republicans "demand that the national domain be set apart for free homes for the people;" the Democrats, that "public lands shall be held for actual settlers:" they did not assert that they should be granted "freely," but presumably, under the Pre-emption Law, at a price.

In 1876 the Republicans re-asserted the principle of 1872, and the Democrats were silent.

There have been no changes since in the position of the parties.

The Republicans are content to see the practical workings of the system they introduced.

The official reports show the most gratifying results.

From the passage of the bill to the end of the fiscal year, June 30, 1887, there have been made 771,700 entries under this law, covering 99,030,071 acres of public land; an area capable of furnishing comfortable homes for millions of people.

During the last fiscal year more than 52,000 homestead entries were made, covering 7,594,350 acres of public land.

These areas as expressed in acres are hardly comprehensible, but better understood when it is stated that the gross area of homestead entries is larger than all New England, the Middle States, and Maryland combined.

The policy was established only after a long, earnest struggle, and hundreds of thousands of people, from experience as well as observation, attest its wisdom.

Indeed, so universal is the indorsement of the principle now, that efforts are being made to so amend the general land laws that the only method of disposal of agricultural lands shall be by the Homestead Law, and it is believed such action will be had in the Fiftieth Congress.

GRANTS OF PUBLIC LANDS TO AID IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF RAILROADS.

The Republican party is constantly charged, in the language of the Democratic National Platform of 1876, as "the party which when in power has squandered two hundred millions of acres of public lands upon railroads alone," etc.

The changes have been, and are now, rung upon this statement, until, possibly, some who make it may believe that the fact is as stated, and the Republican party is responsible for the legislation.

But it is an enormous exaggeration as to amount; at least debatable, even now, in the light and with the aid of experience as to its policy, and absolutely false as to the charge of responsibility.

That charge has not a shadow, even, of fact to rest upon.

The truth is, the practice of granting public lands in aid of public improvements began in 1802, when Congress made a grant to Ohio to aid in constructing roads, and from that day to this the policy of such aid has never been a distinctive party question.

A grant of public lands to aid a canal in Indiana was passed in 1824; in 1827 similar grants were made to aid the Wabash and Erie Canal in Indiana, and the Illinois Canal in Illinois; followed in 1828 by grants in aid of the Miami Canal in Ohio, aggregating nearly 2,500,000 acres, years before the Republican party was dreamed of.

The first grant of public land in aid of a railroad was made by the act of March 3, 1835, to a Florida company; this was followed by a grant of land to the New Orleans and Nashville Railroad company, July 2, 1836. But the act of September 20, 1850, was the first act of real importance of this character, and may be regarded as the initiation of the system of making grants of land to railroads by Congress.

This act gave the State of Illinois 2,595,000 acres to aid the Illinois Central Railroad Company. It was the especial work of Senator Douglas of Illinois; and he was aided by very many Democrats of prominence, among them Senators King and Clement of Alabama, and Davis and Foote of Mississippi.

This act was followed by the acts of 1856, in different States, in aid of railroads, and the policy of the government was thus settled before the Republican party began to act.

The great grants to the Union Pacific and Central Pacific railroads are made the principal texts by our adversaries for denunciation.

Waiving any discussion of the merits of the action here, remarking, however, that the knowledge that comes only after the fact is never specially important, history proves that the Democratic party first, then jointly with us, aided in all possible ways to forward the enterprise.

The agitation of the question of a transcontinental line of railroad began as early as 1838 in Iowa, and in 1845 petitions came to Congress for a grant of one hundred millions of acres of land to aid in the construction of a railroad to the Pacific Ocean.

The same year Senator Douglas proposed a scheme for a road to the Pacific, aided by grants of public land; and from that date to 1862 numerous plans were submitted to Congress on that question.

The Republican National Convention in 1856 declared in favor of such road; and repeated this declaration in 1860, in which year, in national convention, one wing of the Democracy, at Charleston and Baltimore, asserting the necessity of the construction of such a road, said: "The Democratic party pledge such constitutional government aid as will insure the construction of a railroad to the Pacific coast." The same

pledge was made by the Breckinridge wing at its conventions in April and June, 1860.

Moreover, all the Presidential candidates in 1856, Buchanan, Fillmore, and Fremont, placed themselves on record for the plan of government aid; and Mr. Buchanan, after his election, more than once officially indorsed the giving the aid in grants of public land.

So that all parties were thoroughly committed to the principle; and when the act was passed incorporating the Union Pacific Company, and making direct grants to it and the Central Pacific Company for a complete line, it was supported by the leaders of both parties, in compliance with prior party committals and pledges.

And so with every other grant of this character. Not one was ever passed as a party question, nor under special support by either party, but carried by the united action of leaders in both parties in every case.

Credit or blame for the action must attach as it shall be judged to be well or ill advised.

Another question is raised, growing out of these grants, deserving notice.

All the legislation provided that unless the roads were constructed within the period named in the act, the right of the companies as to the lands, respectively, should, under varying circumstances, cease.

Many of the roads granted aid were not constructed in the time required, some not yet completed · and thus the question of the status of "unearned lands" and the reclaiming them by the government has been raised.

There were involved in all the grants made, as appears by official statement of the Public Land Commission, necessary to fill and complete all grants to railroads, *if* completed, 155,504,-994 acres.

The data upon which this computation is made is not complete, owing to imperfect reports in the General Land Office, etc.; and the amount stated is believed by the writer of this to be too small; but the authorities are content with it.

Of the "unearned lands" granted to these corporations, there have been reclaimed, by acts of Congress declaring for-

feiture of the same, 50,482,240 acres to this date (first session, Fiftieth Congress); and bills are now pending for forfeiture of large areas still, claimed by roads whose cases have not been reached.

Of these, bills involving about ten million acres more will pass without opposition, there being no question, as to these, either of power or policy as to such action.

Now, the Democracy are claiming the credit for this restoration of "unearned lands" to the public domain as party action, and impliedly, if not directly, charging the Republicans with opposition to such action.

In a word, this claim can be disposed of: every bill that has passed Congress since this agitation began was prepared and introduced, or based upon a bill prepared and introduced, by a Republican, both in the Senate and the House;* and party lines have never been drawn in either the discussion or passage of these bills.

The act against "alien ownership" of real estate is claimed by the Democracy, and great credit is taken by them for its preparation and passage.

The act was reported from a conference committee of the Senate and House, appointed on the passage by the Senate of a bill prepared and introduced by and passed under the charge of Senator Plumb, and on the passage by the House of a similar bill prepared and introduced by and passed under the charge of Mr. Payson of Illinois.

The report of the conference committee made by Senator Plumb to the Senate and Mr. Payson to the House is the act now in the statutes.

It therefore clearly appears that on all these matters of land-reform, so earnestly approved by the people of the Union, the Republican party has not only been abreast of public sentiment, but successful in all its endeavors; and equally clear is it that the claim of the Democracy to any share of the credit for the initiation of these measures is utterly without foundation.

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* These bills were prepared by Senator Plumb of Kansas, in the Senate, and Mr. Payson of Illinois, in the House.—EDITOR.

PENSIONS.

By Hon. Edmund N. Morrill, M. C. from Kansas.

Pensions are periodical payments of money from the public treasury on account of services rendered to the government, or to the public, or on account of losses sustained in such service.

The United States has no civil pension list, such as are provided in other countries, except in a few special cases, as those of widows of its former Presidents. Its pension roll is almost exclusively for service, or disabilities incurred in the army and navy. Having but a small military and naval establishment, and dependent almost entirely upon the patriotism of the people in the event of war, the policy of the government is to provide liberal laws for invalid pensions, and for widows and children who through the casualties of war have lost their husbands and fathers. While provision has been made for service pensions to the survivors of the Mexican and former wars, the principal part of our pension roll is made up of invalids and dependants of the late civil war.

At the beginning of the late war of the Rebellion, as shown by the report of the Commissioner of Pensions made June 30, 1861, the whole number of pensioners on the rolls was only nine thousand seven hundred and fifty-two. The annual report of the same officer for the year 1887 shows a total of four hundred and six thousand and seven, of which number two hundred and ninety-four thousand four hundred and forty-five were army invalids, and eighty-five thousand and ten widows, orphans, and dependent parents of soldiers. The pension law of July 14, 1862, was the foundation of our present system, and to this amendments have been made from time to time, extending its beneficent provisions and increasing its allowances as rapidly as public sentiment demanded and the condition of the treasury would permit.

Upon the Republican party devolved the responsibility of

calling into the army and navy millions of citizens to encounter the dangers of battle and the hardships of military service in order to suppress a formidable rebellion; and upon that party devolved the responsibility of providing an adequate pension system, that those who received disabilities in the service, and their widows and those dependent upon them, might be properly cared for. How they have met these responsibilities is a matter of history, and requires no explanation or apology.

Rebellion suppressed, the government preserved from destruction, the Union restored, the public credit established, ample revenue provided, its brave defenders pensioned, patriotic service for the future assured—these are the indelible inscriptions on its monument of fame.

But in the rush of events the past is forgotten, dissatisfaction grows, and desire for change prevails. The party that served the Nation is defeated, and the one which sought its destruction has control of the government; and now this party, which was the mainstay and support of the Rebellion, has the audacity to put forth the claim that it is a better friend to the soldier who fought for the preservation of the Union than the party which called him into the field, and it further claims that it is more liberal in its provisions and administration concerning pensions. To determine this question, let facts be submitted to the American people. Under the general pension laws of the Republican party, invalids and widows of soldiers in the Mexican war stood on an equal footing with Union soldiers, provided they had not subsequently borne arms against the United States, or given aid and support to the Rebellion.

The Democratic party signalized its return to power by persistently demanding the passage of a bill to pension Mexican soldiers whether disabled or not, whether dependent or in affluence, to pension them notwithstanding their having borne arms in the Confederate army, and to pension them from the date of the passage of the act, without regard to the date of filing their claims; while Union soldiers were only pensioned from the date the claim is filed. This measure has become a law, and in the contest over it the Republicans attempted to

incorporate some more liberal concessions to the Union soldiers, such as that Union soldiers now sick and disabled should be pensioned without having to prove the army origin of their disability; that the widows and orphans of such soldiers should be provided for without proving that the fatal disease which resulted in death had its origin in the service; and that dependent fathers and mothers should only be required to show that they are now dependent upon others for support, and not to prove their dependence at the date of the death of the son. But Democratic votes in Congress and Democratic vetoes from the White House defeated all such attempts. The only concessions that could be obtained were that Mexican war soldiers should not be pensioned for disabilities received while serving in the rebel army.

But it is claimed that the Democratic party has shown its liberality and friendliness to the Union soldier by its Pension Office administration, inasmuch as it has placed that bureau under the charge of a distinguished Union soldier, General John C. Black, himself wounded in battle, and who has signalized his friendship to his late comrades by granting more pensions than were ever granted by any of his Republican predecessors during the same length of time.

I would not detract a single iota from the military record of this gallant officer, and it is true that a larger number of pensions have been granted during the past year and during his administration than were ever before granted during the same length of time; but it is equally true that this is owing to the liberal Republican laws, and the admirable and efficient organization of the office by his predecessors. It is also owing to the fact that more than three hundred thousand claims were pending when he took possession of the office—claims that, many of them, had been pending for years, and nearly all the evidence required to complete them had been furnished, and they were only awaiting slight formalities to complete the cases.

During the administration of the office by his predecessors a large number of cases had accumulated in which claimants had been gradually obtaining evidence to complete the cases,

and which the office had been unable to act upon owing to the large amount of business before it. It is also true that his predecessor had rapidly disposed of many of the cases pending, and that the office was prepared to, and did, act much more promptly upon cases than ever before since the close of the war.

The present Commissioner had the benefit of all this work done by his predecessors, and he also had the benefit of the organization of a division by Col. Dudley, his immediate predecessor in office, to collect the names and post-offices of surviving officers and comrades for the use of claimants, thus enabling thousands of them to find their old comrades, and to obtain the necessary proofs which they could not otherwise have done.

In his report for June 30, 1887, he admits that one hundred and fifty-eight thousand two hundred and twenty-seven names and their post-office addresses were furnished the claimants in twenty-eight thousand two hundred and ninety cases, by this division, during the year preceding, and this Republican provision enabled thousands of claimants to complete their cases who could never have done so without its aid, and to that is largely due the credit of increased number of allowances.

General Black's pretended liberality in the administration of his office is very clearly shown in his orders, rulings, and decisions for the government of his clerks. It is a fact which cannot be gainsaid, that as a general thing the liberal rulings of his Republican predecessors have been largely restricted or entirely reversed. In proof of this the following examples are given:

He has ruled that widows are entitled to pension only from the date of filing their claims, and has overruled their appeal in repeated instances, although the law has been pressed upon his attention. Section 4702 of the Revised Statutes provides that "the widow's pension should commence at the date of the husband's death."

An appropriation bill passed March 3, 1879, provides that pension claims filed after June 30, 1880, should commence only

from the date of filing. This was construed to include widows' pensions, although, as Senator Teller says, "nobody dreamed of any such result." To correct this mistake, on the 7th of August, 1882, Congress re-enacted section 4702, again providing that "the widow's pension should commence from the date of the husband's death;" but General Black has persistently refused to recognize this law, and has withheld a part of the pension money honestly due thousands of poor widows. To overcome this determined refusal to obey the law, Congress has been compelled to put into the pension appropriation act just passed a mandatory clause to compel him to pay them. No doubt the payment of these widows under this compulsory process will be claimed as a result of the "liberality" of the Commissioner and his party.

In many cases filed in the Pension Office, claimants have been unable to find evidence to complete their cases, and, wearied with the long waiting, and destitute and suffering, have appealed to Congress to relieve them by special acts. Section 4715 of the Revised Statutes provides that "any pensioner who shall so elect may surrender his certificate and receive in lieu thereof a certificate to any other pension to which he may have been entitled had not the surrendered certificate been issued;" but General Black rules that a person receiving a pension by special act shall not be allowed to prove up his case under the general law when he finds his witnesses, and then surrender his certificate and receive the pension to which he would have been entitled had he not been a recipient of the favor from Congress: and this boasted "liberality" needs a mandatory act of Congress to compel him to obey this law.

Another decision of characteristic "liberality" is found in ruling No. 135 of September 4, 1885, in which General Black says: "The Commissioner holds that a man against whom the charge of desertion remains cannot receive a pension."

Henry Klussman, Co. K, 10th Regiment, Ohio, was pensioned in 1863 and died. His widow applied for a pension, and her application was rejected on the ground that the record showed the soldier to have been at one time a deserter, and the adjutant-general refused to amend this record under the act of

May 17, 1886. After the charge of desertion was entered upon the company rolls the soldier returned to his command, completed his term of service, and was honorably discharged. This woman afterwards received her pension, but the ruling still remains. This ruling is in disregard of the official action of the Department of War. That Department having honorably discharged the soldier, it is none of the Commissioner's business what military offenses he may have previously committed. It is in disregard of the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States.

That court, in the case of the United States *vs.* Kelly, 15 Wallace, page 34, says: "That the honorable discharge of the deserter was a formal final judgment passed by the government upon the entire military record of the soldier, and an authoritative declaration by it that he had left the service in a status of honor." Hence the court says: "Such a soldier does not need any correction of his service by the adjutant-general, because his discharge amounted of itself to the removal of any charge or impediment in the way of his receiving bounty," and this ruling reverses the practice of his predecessors, who were accustomed to obey the above decisions. But the present Commissioner is wiser than the Supreme Court, more powerful than the Secretary of War, and more "liberal" than all his predecessors.

Another "liberal" decision was made in defiance of law and common-sense in the case of Thomas Ferguson, Co. B, 91st Regiment, Ind. Vols. A special act of Congress approved May 6, 1873, directed the Pension Bureau to restore to the pension roll the name of this soldier.

May 23, 1873, Secretary Delano decided: "Pensioners under special acts are entitled to restoration from date of suspension of original pension," and the uniform practice of the office was in accordance with this decision, because the word "restore" could have no other sense; but in this case the Commissioner restores him from the date of the approval of the act, and still withholds seven years' pension to which the soldier is entitled.

The national cemeteries, the numerous battle-fields of war,

and various unknown resting-places hold remains of dead soldiers whose names are inscribed only on fame's eternal roll. They sleep in unmarked graves, their resting-place unknown to loving friends. In many cases it is impossible to prove the date or cause of the death of the soldier. They were simply reported as missing. Perhaps the last known of them they were going into battle with their comrades, or they were languishing on hospital beds, or they were immured in rebel prisons, or they were lost sight of in the hurried retreat. It was the practice under the Republican administration, and came to be a common law in the Pension Office, that when the presumptions of law as to the death of the soldier were fairly met, the date of death should be fixed at the date of the disappearance as nearly as possible. Thus the common-law rule that absence for seven years without ever being heard of was accepted as *prima facie* evidence of death, and the last date at which the soldier was seen or heard of was accepted as that from which the widow or dependent mother was entitled to receive her pension; but Democratic "liberality" changes this rule.

In the case of Mary A. Brennan, widow of Connor Brennan, Co. I, 19th Ill., Commissioner Black ordered that her pension should begin seven years after the disappearance of her husband.

In another case, of a dependent mother, whose son was engaged in the battle at Cold Harbor, and at the close of that engagement was missing and has never since been heard of, the Commissioner ordered that the pension should commence on the 4th of June, 1871, seven years from the date of the battle, and only changed this ruling upon a direct order from the Secretary of the Interior.

But at last we do come to a genuine specimen of General Black's "liberality." Section 4714 of the Revised Statutes provides that declarations of pension claimants shall be made before a court of record, etc. Section 4 of the Mexican pension act provides that the pension laws now in force which are not inconsistent or in conflict with this act are hereby made a part of this act so far as they may be made applicable thereto; but, disregarding these plain provisions of law, General Black is

issuing pension certificates under the Mexican service act, without any application whatever from the beneficiary.

Hon. William R. Morrison of Illinois, who was a gallant soldier in the Mexican and also in the late war, had a pension certificate issued to him which he refused to accept because he had never made any application for a pension; did not want it, and would not receive it. Captain George A. Boss of Cincinnati, Ohio, also received a certificate of pension under the Mexican pension act without ever making an application for it. The same is true of the widow of Lieutenant William Demmett. How many other cases there are like these, can only be told by the records of the Pension Office.

Were it not that the Commissioner of Pensions is noted for his fairness to political opponents and his comparative freedom from anything like partisanship, one might reasonably conclude that this excessive liberality towards the veterans of the Mexican war was due to the fact that they are largely from the South, and consequently good Democrats.

VETOING PENSION BILLS.

During the first session of the Forty-ninth Congress President Cleveland vetoed more pension bills than had all his predecessors since the organization of the government.

This fact alone stamps the unfriendly character of this administration and of the party it represents. But to break the force of this fact two defenses are alleged: (1) that Mr. Cleveland also signed more pension bills than any one of his predecessors, and (2) that this exercise of his constitutional right shows an independence of judgment, a courage to accept the responsibilities of his office, and a desire to arrest fraudulent and unworthy claims, which should commend him to the approval of honest and independent voters.

These defenses might have some weight but for the fact that these bills were all passed by a Democratic House of Representatives upon the representation of a Democratic Pension Committee. What a set of scoundrels these Democratic Congressmen must have been to consent to these frauds!

Analyzing the bills approved and those vetoed, no one can discern any difference of honesty or merit in the two classes on which to base such insinuations. The reasons given in many cases simply betray ignorance of the respective provinces of Congress and the Pension Bureau. Thus the bill to pension Mavilla Parsons is vetoed because there is "no pretext" that she "is entitled under the general law." And dozens of others are vetoed upon this same ground.

Now this is precisely the reason why Congress should act, if the case is a worthy one. To say an act should not become a law because there is no right under existing law, is to aver that Congress shall create no new pension rights. The President, instead of proposing to limit the Pension Office by the will of Congress, actually proposes to limit Congress by the will of the Pension Office.

Neither will the plea of official duty avail.

The bill to pension Harriet Welch is vetoed notwithstanding the President says: "I believe her case to be a pitiable one, and wish that I could join in her relief, but unfortunately official duty cannot always be well done when directed solely by sympathy and charity."

But this Roman devotion to duty did not prevent him from signing the bills to pension the widows of Generals Hancock, Blair, and Logan, at a sum equal in each case to that required for fourteen such cases as this pitiable one.

John Taylor was pensioned at $12 per month by a special act of Congress. The Pension Office holds that it cannot increase his pension, and refuses to do so because Congress has fixed his rating. He is therefore compelled to go to Congress for further relief, and an act is passed to give him $16 per month. But the President vetoes this bill, holding that the claimant now has a liberal rating for a gun-shot wound through the face and shoulder which affects his sight and hearing, and causes him constant neuralgic pains. But he seems to have no conscientious scruples in signing a bill to increase the pension of General Benj. F. Kelly to $100 per month for gun-shot wounds which do not disqualify him for a high-grade clerkship in the Pension Office.

Joseph Romiser was a member of a Maryland Volunteer Militia Company. In an emergency, the company was called on by the Government, and sent to Cumberland to repel a Confederate attack. This soldier, while in the ranks, was wounded by the accidental discharge of a gun in the hands of a comrade, the ball passing through his head and destroying the sight of one eye and the hearing of one ear.

Congress could and did pension him by special act, but the President vetoed the bill because the man was not mustered into the United States service. But this was too flagrant an abuse of the veto power, even for a servile Democratic House, and the bill was passed over the veto by a vote of 175 to 38. In the Senate it passed unanimously, 50 votes in the affirmative and none in the negative.

Scores of cases of bills approved and bills vetoed might be cited to show the utter inconsistency of the President in considering these cases. It is a fact known to every one familiar with the work of the Committee on Invalid Pensions that the President has repeatedly vetoed the strongest bills and signed the weakest; that he has repeatedly vetoed bills for certain reasons, and approved other bills where the same reasons existed.

It is unquestionably true that the President has little sympathy for the Union soldier, and would have vetoed many more cases if he had had time, as he plainly declares; and his hostility and utter lack of sympathy with this large class constantly crops out in trivial and sarcastic sentences in his messages. For instance: "No statement is presented of the bounty received by him upon either enlistment." "Probably there were those who found their interest in such an appeal" (to Congress). "The number of instances in which those of our soldiers who rode horses during the war were injured by their saddles indicates that those saddles were dangerous contrivances." "After this brilliant service with a terrific encounter with the measles." "Whatever else may be said of this claimant's achievements during his short military career, it might be considered that he accumulated a great deal of disability." Many more quotations might be made of a similar character

from his veto messages. They are coarse, undignified, and utterly unworthy of the Chief Executive of this great Government.

If any further evidence is required to show the utter lack of sympathy on the part of the President for the soldiers who followed their country's flag in the late rebellion, it is fully furnished by his action in vetoing the Dependent Pension bill passed in the Forty-ninth Congress.

The Committee on Invalid Pensions, composed of nine Democrats and six Republicans, in an able and exhaustive report unanimously adopted, say: "It passes the comprehension of this Committee to understand how the President could have overlooked in another bill what are alleged as faults in this bill.

"The bill we refer to passed the House on the same day as did, and met with his unhesitating approval. It is the bill to give pensions to the survivors of the war with Mexico, etc. Under that bill, if one who was a soldier in that war and is now under sixty-two years of age applied, he must allege and prove some degree of dependency, and no matter how slight, quite vague and indefinite, and any degree of disability, is sufficient, no matter how incurred, except in the military service against the United States; and no matter if he be worth millions, he need only show sixty days' service; he need not have been in an actual engagement with the enemy, or subjected to any of the actual dangers of war, or even that he should have been in Mexico, or on the coasts or frontiers thereof; it is sufficient if he had been *en route* thereto, and it embraces within its provisions more persons than are to be benefited by the bill now under consideration.

"It grants the pension to every soldier over sixty-two years of age, without any condition as to his circumstances or necessities, and without requiring any disability as the result of even though he be a member of Congress drawing a salary of $5000 per annum. It gives a pension to every soldier under sixty-two years for any disability, even if the disability resulted since his service and from his own vicious habits or gross carelessness and for this he gets $8; while the Union

soldier for the same disability, received in the line of duty and while in the service, would get perhaps only $2; and it gives a pension to every widow of a soldier in that war who is now sixty-two years of age, whether she was the wife of the soldier or not at the time of his service, without reference to the cause of his death, even if he was killed in battle while serving in the Confederate army.

"The committee would rejoice if there could even now be found some indefinite vagueness or latent ambiguity in the Mexican pension law that would enable the President to say that these results were not foreseen by him when he was approving the one and contemplating a veto of the other.

"The bill we presented to the House was broad, liberal, and patriotic. It struck down any disbarment from the pension-list on account of any service against the flag, excepting such persons as were laboring under political difficulties. It was intended to reach mainly the survivors of our civil war who had fought for the Union, but it embraced within its generous terms the survivors of the war of 1812, the Indian wars, and the war with Mexico; all who could show that they were totally unable to labor and were dependent upon their daily labor for support could appeal to its provisions, and all were to be treated exactly alike. If this bill fails to become a law, such distinctions are made by the acts of the Executive in approving one and disapproving the other that the committee cannot believe it will be indorsed anywhere by the patriotic sentiment of this country."

In the message returning that bill to Congress without his approval, he made the following grave and unfounded charges against the brave men who suffered for their country. The committee answer these base calumnies in the following emphatic language.

The President says: "Recent personal observation and experience constrain me to refer to another result which will inevitably follow the passage of this bill. It is sad, but nevertheless true, that already in the matter of procuring pensions there exists a widespread disregard of truth and good faith, stimulated by those who, as agents, undertake to establish

claims for pensions, heedlessly entered upon by the expectant beneficiary, and encouraged, or at least not condemned, by those unwilling to obstruct a neighbor's plans."

"Your committee do not share in the opinion that 'there exists a wide-spread disregard of truth and good faith' in the prosecution of pension claims. Nor do we believe that the ex-soldiers of the country are prone to commit fraud, perjury, and subornation of perjury for that purpose or for any other. If, however, such be the fact, it does not appear to be productive of result in the successful issue of fraudulent claims in any appreciable degree.

"The late Commissioner of Pensions, Hon. W. W. Dudley, in an annual report, says that with the most searching investigation of all cases of suspected fraud, the result showed that in the number of allowed claims one tenth of one per cent, or one in each thousand only, of allowed cases were fraudulent. With the present large force of special examiners in the field, charged with the duty of reporting to the office any evidence, even of a hearsay character, that tends to show a claim to be fraudulent, the opportunity to procure a fraudulent pension, or to enjoy one after it is procured, seems to be reduced to the minimum."

And they further express their convictions of his lack of sympathy for the veterans as follows: "In conclusion, we submit that the general tone of the message is to be fairly taken as an expression in advance of a purpose to use the executive power to prevent any further legislation that will add any new class to our pension-list, or that will materially increase the cost thereof, and based upon the idea that the country is against it."

ACTION IN CONGRESS.

A pension roll which bears over 400,000 names, and to whom there is annually paid about $53,000,000 sufficiently attests the readiness of the Republican party to redeem all its pledges to those it called into the field in the national defense; for the votes of Republicans in Congress are uniformly cast in favor of the most liberal measures. Indeed, they have often

been called to defend themselves against the charge of extravagance and recklessness in voting public money for pensions. It is only in political campaigns, when the votes of the soldiers are in question, that the Democratic party has the temerity to set up a claim of equal friendliness. Only a few comparisons of party records can be given as specimens, but these will amply suffice.

In January, 1879, a bill was passed providing that pensions should commence from the date of the discharge of the invalid soldier. As this measure was passed at a time when the Democrats had a majority in the House, a few of their more zealous advocates have claimed credit for this as a Democratic measure.

The facts are that the bill, H. R. 4234, was introduced by Mr. Cummings, a Republican from Iowa, June 19, 1878, and on motion of Mr. Haskell, a Republican from Kansas, the Committee on Invalid Pensions was discharged from its further consideration, and it was taken up for action. It passed the House by a vote of 164 yeas to 61 nays. Every Republican vote recorded is in its favor; and every vote against it is that of a Democrat. As a party question the record shows the Democrats to be against it, 48 having voted for it, and 61 against it. Whatever of credit or of blame therefore attaching to the Arrears Act belongs to the Republicans.

In the Forty-eighth Congress, March 4, 1884, the House passed a bill to pension the surviving soldiers of the Mexican war and their widows by a vote of 227 to 46. The Republican Senate amended this bill by adding sections making further provisions for disabled and dependent soldiers of the civil war —increasing the pension of widows from $8 to $12 per month —continuing pensions to children above 16 years of age when they were helples, providing that fathers and mothers should only be required to show present dependence instead of dependence at the date of the son's death. Thirty-one senators voted for these amendments, *all* Republicans: and twenty-seven senators voted against them, *all* Democrats. On the return of the bill to the House it failed of consideration by Democratic opposition. On a motion to suspend the rules to take up and pass the bill, 75 Republicans and 52 Democrats

voted in the affirmative; and 84 Democrats and one Republican in the negative. The motion being lost because two-thirds were required to carry it.

In the Forty-ninth Congress the Mexican War Service and the Dependent Soldiers' bills were passed separately to satisfy Democratic demands. The reason of this demand was soon apparent. The two bills were passed on the same day, and President Cleveland promptly signed the one and vetoed the other.

The Mexican Service Act pensioned all survivors and their widows who were sixty-two years of age; all who had any physical or mental disability without reference to age or origin; and even rebels who had borne arms against the nation. But poor Union soldiers who by reason of age, disease, or accident had found their way to the poor house, could have no relief with Democratic consent. On the passage of this Dependent bill in the House, 112 Republicans and 63 Democrats voted for it, while the 76 votes against it were all Democrats. On the attempt in the House to pass it over the veto, 137 Republicans and 38 Democrats voted for it; and 125 votes, all Democrats were recorded against it; and it failed for want of two-thirds.

But the action, or rather the refusal to act upon the part of the Democratic party in the present Congress (Fiftieth) speaks more plainly than ever of their determination to prevent any further legislation in behalf of the veterans of the late war. The control of the legislation of the House of Representatives rests entirely with the Committee on Rules (of which the Speaker is Chairman) when that committee is sustained by the party having control of the organization of the House. They fix days for the consideration of bills reported from the several committees, and no legislation can be considered in any other way or at any other time except on suspension days, i.e., the first and third Mondays of each month, or by the unanimous consent of all the members present. The Speaker decides absolutely and without any restriction what measures may be considered upon suspension days, as he can recognize or refuse to recognize any member who moves to take up any measure.

Under the rules on suspension days debate on a bill is limited, and a two-thirds vote is required to pass it. The Committee on Rules have so far this session refused to support a resolution fixing a time for the consideration of bills reported by the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Early in April a resolution was introduced in the House and referred to the Committee on Rules setting apart two days to be devoted exclusively to the consideration of such pension bills as that committee might decide to bring before the House, Repeated appeals have been made to that committee to report that resolution to the House so that a vote could be taken upon it. A petition signed by one hundred and forty members was presented to them, asking for a favorable report upon that resolution. By a unanimous vote the Republicans in their caucus requested this committee to assign a reasonable time to the Committee on Invalid Pensions for the consideration of such bill reported by them as they might choose to present.

For five months the Committee on Invalid Pensions has been actively and industriously engaged in considering and perfecting measures for the relief of the surviving soldiers of the War of the Rebellion and their widows and orphans. More general bills have been referred to them than to any other Committee in the House. More than one hundred and fifty bills of a general character have been presented for their consideration. After weeks of careful examination of the different measures, the Committee have reported twelve bills, and with but two exceptions the reports have been made upon the unanimous vote of the Committee, and the most of them would doubtless receive favorable consideration in the House if it was allowed to vote upon them. With but a single exception, the amount of money required to carry out their provisions would be small, and the objects sought to be obtained are demanded by every principle of justice and equity.

The bill to increase the rate of pension to the deaf, simply gives to this unfortunate class, who are doomed to eternal silence, who are shut out from all the more important vocations of life, who are deprived of the priceless privilege of communing with their loved ones in the ordinary way, who can never enjoy

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the sweet music surrounding them, or listen to the innocent prattle of their little ones, a pension commensurate with their disability, and affords a relief that ought long since to have been granted them.

The measure for the relief of the ex-prisoners of war does but scant and tardy justice to that heroic band of brave men, who underwent greater privations and endured more terrible sufferings than any other class of their comrades. They were animated by a spirit of devoted loyalty to their country in every vicissitude, and grandly chose a lingering death by starvation rather than renounce their allegiance to the old flag.

Another bill proposes to increase the pensions of that very small but sadly afflicted class, numbering but a score, and so soon to pass to that bourne where the conflict of arms is never heard—the old veterans who lost both arms in the defense of their country. Another provides for bereaved fathers and mothers who are now dependent, but were not dependent when the son died, and for dependent widows of soldiers even in cases where the husband's death cannot be technically traced to wounds or disease contracted in army service. Another measure proposes to abolish the unjust discrimination which exists in the present law, by which a portion of the totally helpless now receive but fifty dollars per month, while others, no more unfortunate, receive seventy-two, giving them all the same rating.

The measure of as much merit as any, and one demanding the most urgent action, provides for that large and increasing class of our country's sturdy defenders who, as old age comes creeping upon them, find themselves no longer able to provide the necessary means of subsistence, and are compelled to seek refuge in the inhospitable alms-houses and other charitable institutions of the country, or accept a support from the hands of relatives and friends sometimes sorely burdened to provide for their own necessities.

The most important bill reported from the Committee, taking into consideration its cost, is that repealing the Arrears Act, and placing all soldiers of the late war upon an equal footing. That those who went forth from the same homes,

enlisted in the same companies, performed the same services, fought side by side on the same battle-fields, followed the same flag through the same long and weary marches, experienced the same privations, suffered from similar wounds and diseases, should receive the same consideration at the hands of the government, is a proposition the justice of which none will deny.

The other bills reported from the Committee while they are, so far as the cost involved is concerned, comparatively unimportant, correct manifest irregularities and injustices in the present laws. All of these measures are now pending on the House Calendar, but cannot be considered by that body on account of the autocratic exercise of power by the Committee on Rules, which refuses to allow the representatives of the people to discuss measures that a majority of them heartily approve.

Every soldier in this country ought to know that the responsibility for the failure of prompt and adequate pension legislation rests upon the majority of the Committee on Rules, and upon the party which controls the organization of the House, and which made that Committee.

The Democratic members of that body can any day, aye, any hour, pass any pension bill now reported to that House which they choose to do. Not a Republican member upon that floor will make the slightest objection to a fair consideration of any measure for the relief of the brave men who saved this country from disruption, and who made it possible for us to enjoy the prosperity which now surrounds us: who in fact gave us the overflowing Treasury which now causes so much needless alarm and which would be speedily relieved of a portion of its surplus if simple justice was done them. Let every man who wore the blue during the late war, then, understand that the Democratic party alone is responsible for the failure of Congress to pass measures for their relief. It is highly probable that, yielding to the growing demand for the enactment of further pension legislation, they will consent to the passage of some of the more unimportant bills; but it seems equally certain that no time will be set apart for the discussion of such measures, and con-

sideration of such bills only as they select will be allowed, and this only on suspension days, when no amendments can be made, and when debate is practically cut off.

A great deal has been said of the liberality of our government in providing for its disabled defenders, and their widows and dependent children. Again and again we are pointed to the appropriation of $80,000,000 in a single year for the payment of pensions as proof of this. This is misleading and not altogether fair. The Commissioner of Pensions shows in his last report that the annual pension-roll costs less than $53,000,000. All in excess of this is to pay pensions that were due for previous years, and is to pay old claims which have just been adjudicated. It will be freely admitted that even $53,000,000 is a large sum, but it must be borne in mind that the late war was a gigantic one, unparalleled in point of numbers engaged by any in the history of the world.

The reports in the Adjutant-General's office show that during the four years of its continuance there were 2,865,028 enlistments. Allowing a liberal estimate for the double enlistments, at least 2,400,000 men must have been engaged in the Union army. Of this vast number, nearly 300,000 were killed in battle or died of wounds received or disease incurred during the war, and thousands of others returned to their homes only to suffer and die in a few short months. Of this vast army, up to June 30, 1887, 628,272 had filed claims for pensions, of which but 364,886 had been allowed. Of these, 294,445 were on the rolls at the time above stated.

364,886 claims had been filed by widows, orphan children, and dependent relatives. The average pension paid was $130.10 per year, surely not an extravagant sum to pay for the loss of husbands and fathers, and the terrible loss of limbs, and the sufferings from wounds and diseases. Of the number then on the rolls, 144,881, nearly one half of the soldiers, were receiving less than $75 each per year. What munificence!

The widow who gave her husband in the prime of life, full of bright hopes for the future, received $8 per month for her sacrifice, and this great Nation generously gave her $2 per month for the support of the child made an orphan by the

ravages of war. What happy wife would not cheerfully surrender her loved one for such a generous pension? What child would be so ungrateful when it arrived at manhood as to lose an opportunity to sing praises to the glorious government that contributed so liberally to his support?

It is about time that this senseless twaddle about the generosity of the government to the noble men who sacrificed their all to preserve its existence should cease. The brave men who fought the battles for the preservation of the Union from 1861 to 1865 will never be compensated for their terrible sufferings and sacrifices. The government is abundantly able to provide for these men in their declining years—to care for those who are destitute and suffering; and to do this entitles it to no credit. To do less would be base ingratitude.

OUR FISHERIES.

By Hon. William P. Frye, U. S. Senator from Maine.

To a reasonable understanding of the matters in controversy between the United States and the Dominion of Canada touching the fisheries, a historical statement is important, though it must necessarily be brief and somewhat incomplete on account of the limits of this article.

The waters in contention were acquired from France largely by the bravery and skill of our fishermen, were enjoyed by us as a colony of Great Britain, and our rights in them secured to us as a republic by the treaty of 1783 in the following article:

ARTICLE III.

"It is agreed that the people of the United States shall *continue* to enjoy unmolested *the* RIGHT—

"(1) To *take* fish of every kind on the Grand Bank and all the other banks of Newfoundland;

"(2) And also in the Gulf of Saint Lawrence;

"(3) And at all other places *in the sea*, where the inhabitants of both countries used at any time heretofore to fish. And also that the inhabitants of the United States shall have LIBERTY—

"(1) To *take* fish of every kind on such part of the *coast* of Newfoundland as British fishermen shall use (but not to dry or cure the same on that island);

"(2) And also on the coasts, bays, and creeks of *all* other of his Britannic Majesty's dominions in America."

England's assumption is apparent, even in this article, wherein she concedes to us fishing grounds all the way from 30 to 200 miles from the coast line of her possessions, over which she had no more jurisdiction than she had over the waters of the mid-ocean.

Her unscrupulous purpose to aggrandize her power regard-

less of the rights of others forced us into the War of 1812, and impelled her, after the war was over, to the declaration that we had thereby forfeited all the rights in the fisheries we ever had as her colony, or had acquired under the terms of the treaty of 1783. Our Commissioners resisted this demand, and the result was that the treaty of peace of 1814 was entirely silent as to the fishery rights.

Then came the treaty of 1818, negotiated at a time exceedingly unfortunate for us. We were staggering under the burdens of the late war, while England was arrogant under the inspiration of her victory at Waterloo, the entry of the allies into Paris, and the abdication of Napoleon. We deliberately surrendered at least one half of our fishery rights, and dealt a blow to that industry from which it has never recovered.

By the terms of the treaty England laid the foundation for ceaseless demands, and invited her colonies to the enactment of penal laws, and the commission of outrages in their name, which would disgrace any civilization. Article 1 of the treaty provided:

"And the United States hereby renounce, forever, any liberty heretofore enjoyed or claimed by the inhabitants thereof to take, dry, or cure fish on or within three marine miles of any of the coasts, bays, creeks, or harbors of his Britannic Majesty's dominions in America not included within the above-mentioned limits;" with a proviso that our fishermen might enter those bays, etc., for shelter and to repair damages therein, to purchase wood or to obtain water, but "for no other purpose whatever."

In other words, we made a partition of our property rights in these British waters, reserving, however, to our fishing-vessels especial privileges in the bays, harbors, etc., assigned in this division to England's colony—privileges peculiar to such vessels, and enjoyed by no others carrying the American flag.

Shortly after the conclusion of this treaty, England for the first time set up what was known as the headland theory; that is, that the excluded waters should be measured by a line drawn from headland to headland across the bays, harbors, etc., and that the three-mile shore-line should be measured outside

of that. Our government resisted the claim, and Great Britain instructed her colonial officers not to enforce it. For several years there was little if any trouble, but in progress of time England and her colonies came to look with covetous eyes upon our increasing market, and finally determined to possess it. They seized vessel after vessel, condemned them in colonial courts on the testimony of colonial witnesses, refused them shelter, drove them to sea in storms, seized and searched on the high seas, broke up voyages, until in fact the perils of the sea on the banks were not greater than the dangers of the law within the shore-line. Our government interfered again and again. Mr. Van Buren sent the *Grampus* into those waters in 1839; Mr. Pierce ordered a fleet there; the *Kearsarge* and the *Mississippi* cruised there: and in the presence of our armed vessels our fishermen were undisturbed, but immediately on their withdrawal the outrages were renewed. The records are full of evidences of illegal seizures; of seizures and condemnations on complaints of the most trivial and inconsequential character; of every conceivable outrage and wrong; of every violation of the rights of hospitality and friendly intercourse.

In the pursuit of these unjustifiable methods England and her colony had but one purpose—to force open our markets; and in 1854 their efforts were crowned with success, in the ratification of a reciprocity treaty, under the terms of which they opened their fisheries to us, and we our markets to them. This treaty was of immense benefit to them and unfortunate for us, as is clearly indicated by the fact that at the very earliest moment, when under its terms we had the right, it was terminated by a vote of nearly two to one in the House of Representatives, and of nearly five to one in the United States Senate.

Then the Canadian Government resorted to a system of licensing, charging for the first year for a license fifty cents a ton, the second one dollar, and the third two dollars. Our fishermen, unable to bear such a burden, refused to avail themselves of these licenses, and the experiment proved a failure. Whereupon Canada again resorted to the old and hitherto successful tactics of outrage, seizure, and condemnation, until

the patience of our government was exhausted, and Congress indicated by its reception of "The memorial of the fishermen of the United States" that retaliatory legislation was imminent, when, unfortunately for our interests, the treaty of Washington, in 1871, was negotiated and ratified.

Under the terms of that treaty we secured the right to fish within the shore-line of Canada, and other privileges unnecessary to mention, paying for these almost worthless rights $5,500,000, and giving to Canada our markets for her fish. During the life of this treaty we remitted in duties nearly $6,000,000—the last year of its existence, in 1885, nearly $700,000, or, to be exact, $689,602.25.

At the earliest possible moment, under the terms of the treaty, a resolution passed both Houses of Congress, with entire unanimity, requesting the President of the United States to give the required notice for the termination of the fishery articles. The President gave the notice, and July 1, 1885, they were abrogated, and we were remitted, so far as the fisheries were concerned, to the treaty of 1818.

Unfortunately for us, our Secretary of State, Mr. Bayard, was profoundly ignorant of all the questions touching these fishery rights, and Sir Lionel West, the British minister, undoubtedly persuaded him that conflicts between the United States and the Canadian fishermen were liable to take place at any moment, and might even provoke a war with Great Britain. So he made haste, without authority of law, to enter into an agreement with the British minister for a *modus vivendi*, which should endure until the meeting of Congress in December, under the terms of which we were to be permitted to fish within the waters of the Dominion and they within ours, and the President of the United States was, in his annual message, to advise Congress to authorize the appointment of a commission to settle and determine our rights in these waters.

This *modus vivendi* was agreed upon without any consultation whatever with men who were familiar with the questions it treated, and interested in promoting the fishery industry of the United States. George Steele, President of the American Fishery Union, April 28, 1885, wrote to our Secretary of State

that "the officers of the Fishery Union desire to present the interests of their pursuits in this emergency to the attention of yourself personally or to the President." But the Secretary of State, May 2, 1885, informed him that such an interview was entirely unnecessary.

In compliance with the terms of this arrangement, the President in his annual message to Congress in December, 1885, recommended the Commission, and the Senate on the 13th of April, 1886, after careful consideration and exhaustive discussion, declared that in its judgment no such commission ought to be appointed, and on July 24th, of the same year ordered the Committee on Foreign Relations to investigate the fishery question, which instruction that committee complied with, and on 19th January, 1887, made report recommending the enactment of a law for the protection of American rights.

From the date of the expiration of the *modus vivendi* up to the end of the fishery season of last year, the Dominion of Canada, apparently with the approval of Great Britain, ceaselessly committed every conceivable outrage upon our fishermen, boarded their vessels, placed them under guard, seized and bonded them, insulted their masters, pulled down the American flag, and refused our sailors the common rights of humanity. More than one hundred complaints of these outrages were formally filed with our Secretary of State. So grossly unjust and outrageous was this treatment that in the month of February, 1887, a stringent and comprehensive retaliatory law passed the Senate by a vote of 46 to 1, and in the House by a vote of 256 to 1.

The only difference between the two Houses was, that the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House, in its majority Democratic, reported to the House (Democratic), a bill which passed that body authorizing the President to go to the extent of declaring absolute non-intercourse with the Dominion of Canada if these outrages were continued; while the Senate believed that retaliation in kind would be all that was necessary. The disagreement between the two Houses resulted in a Conference Committee, which reported (the House yielding) the

bill which finally passed and was approved by the President, March 3, 1887.

Up to this time there was no division of sentiment in Congress nor with the people. We were all Americans and fully determined that American citizens, whether on sea or land, whether in Africa, on the islands of the Pacific, or in the bays and harbors of the Dominion of Canada, should be protected in all their rights and permitted to enjoy all their privileges. The President never availed himself of the provisions of this law though the outrages continued, but on the contrary, in opposition to the expressed will and judgment of Congress, commenced to negotiate an adjustment of these difficulties diplomatically, by securing the American rights in part, at the price of yielding the most fundamental and important of them all.

On the 22d of November, 1887, he appointed three plenipotentiaries to consider, with like plenipotentiaries appointed by her Majesty, the whole subject and, if possible, secure a solution thereof. These officials entered upon their duties immediately, in the city of Washington, and finally, on the 15th of February, 1888, the President of the United States submitted to the Senate a treaty, the result of their deliberations.

Thus once more we are driven by the peculiar tactics of the Dominion of Canada to a surrender. The President, the Secretary of State, and the lesser lights of a Democratic administration promptly proclaim to the country the marvelous advantages secured, urge the immediate ratification of the treaty, and charge its opponents with offensive partisanship. Now if this treaty is ratified, what are our gains? What advantages have we secured, and what is the price we have paid?

First. Delimitation.

From what waters were we excluded by the terms of the treaty of 1818? From then until now we have insisted that those waters were included within a line drawn three miles from the shore, and from bays, harbors, etc., not exceeding six miles in width at their mouths. Great Britain contended, shortly after the treaty was made, that its terms excluded us from all of their bays, harbors, etc., drawing the line of exclusion three

miles outside of a line across from headland to headland, but immediately thereafter instructed her Canadian officials that the theory must not be enforced.

Twice, and it may be three times since then, the same theory has been promulgated, but it never has been reduced to practice from that day to the present. Only two attempts to enforce it can be found—one, in 1843, in the seizure of the schooner *Washington*, while fishing in the Bay of Fundy more than three miles from the shore; the other, of the schooner *Argus*, in a Cape Breton Island bay. Our government claimed that the seizures were illegal. The claims were submitted to arbitrators, of whose finding Secretary Bayard says:

"In delivering judgment in the case of the *Washington*, the umpire considered the headland theory and pronounced it 'new doctrine.' He noted among other facts that one of the headlands of the Bay of Fundy was in the United States, but did not place the decision on that ground. And immediately in the next case, that of the *Argus*, heard by him and decided on the same day, he wholly discarded the headland theory and made an award in favor of the owners. The *Argus* was seized, not in the Bay of Fundy, but because (although more than three miles from land) she was found fishing within a line drawn from headland to headland, from Cow Bay to Cape North, on the northeast side of Cape Breton Island."

In 1853 our government dispatched a small naval force to the eastern limit of the United States, for the purpose of affording protection to citizens engaged in the fisheries. The Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Dobbin, in issuing his instructions to Commodore Shubrick, in command of the squadron, touching the contention of Great Britain that three marine miles are to be measured from headland to headland, used the following language:

"The President entertains the opinion that our citizens, under the convention of 1818, have a right to enter the bays and harbors and to take fish there, provided they do not approach within three marine miles of the shore; and he further entertains the opinion that the clause which authorizes expressly the entering into bays and harbors for the purpose of

shelter, etc., precludes the idea that it therein alluded to large open bays such as the Bay of Chaleur, which affords but little better shelter than the open sea, and confirms him in his opinion that the restriction was designed to be applicable to narrow, small bays and harbors in which an entrance could not be effected without approaching within three marine miles of the shore."

The entire history of Canadian outrages committed for the purpose of securing our markets discloses only the two instances of seizures of vessels for fishing outside of the three-mile shore line, or of bays and harbors six miles wide at their entrance, already referred to, to wit, the *Washington* and the *Argus*.

During the past two years, when the Dominion seemed to seek every possible opportunity to annoy, to disturb, and to injure our fishermen, there is not an instance to be found in which she went to the extent of seizing a vessel for fishing outside of such a line. Before the Halifax Commission (which made the award by the vote of the British Commissioner and the Belgian Commissioner, Mr. Del Fosse, who was thoroughly British in all his conduct in that affair), where the Canadians did not hesitate to increase the amount of the award by the grossest exaggerations of the value of their in-shore fisheries, and where it is entirely apparent that the purpose was to obtain the largest possible amount, they did not even make a claim that we should pay for fish taken, or rights and privileges enjoyed, outside of the three-mile shore-line, or of bays and harbors six miles wide at their entrance.

It is entirely safe to say that the English headland theory has never been anything but theoretical. Sir Charles Tupper, in presenting this treaty to the Dominion Parliament, practically takes this ground. The officials of Canada have never enforced it, and we during the entire seventy years have never yielded to it. We admit that we are not entitled to take fish within three miles of the Canadian shore, or within the bays, harbors, etc., six miles wide, partitioned to the exclusive use of the Dominion of Canada by the treaty of 1818. We do not now admit, nor have we ever admitted anything more.

Such being the American position, what, if anything, do we

gain or lose by the present treaty in this regard? Article 3 provides that the three marine miles mentioned in the treaty of 1818 "shall be measured seaward from low-water mark; but at every bay, creek, or harbor, not otherwise specially provided for in this treaty such three marine miles shall be measured seaward from a straight line drawn across the bay, creek, or harbor in the part nearest the entrance at the first point where the width does not exceed ten marine miles."

Now, as the three-mile shore-line is to be measured outside the ten mile line, it is entirely apparent that this single article doubles, nearly, (over our contention,) the excluded waters as to bays, etc. Not content with this generous surrender, the treaty in Article 4 makes a present to Great Britain of waters in which no American fisherman shall ever have a right to fish, as follows: Bay Des Chaleurs, Miramichi Bay, Egmont Bay, St. Ann's Bay, Fortune Bay, Sir Charles Hamilton's Sound, Barrington Bay, Chedabucto and St. Peter's Bay, Mira Bay, Placentia Bay, and St. Mary's Bay. These excluded bays are from twelve to twenty-two miles wide at the line of delimitation, and many of them afford fine fishing-grounds for mackerel, herring, codfish, pollock, and halibut. They are not surrendered for the life of the treaty, but forever.

But the plenipotentiaries did not stop here. Article 5 of the treaty surrenders all bays, creeks, or harbors which cannot be reached from the sea without passing within the three marine miles mentioned in article 1 of the convention of October 20, 1818. No one unfamiliar with this coast and with its waters can tell how much is conceded by this article, but Sir Charles Tupper admits that it was inserted at his request, and one may safely assume that it is not harmless to us in its results.

It is apparent that by this delimitation the waters from which we are excluded are largely increased. It is claimed in excuse that we do not desire to fish in them; that our fishermen so testified. Our fishermen only testified that they had no wish to fish within the three-mile shore-line, and in bays, harbors, and creeks that were six miles wide at their entrance. It never occurred to them that there might be a treaty by

which this line should be extended to bays sixteen, eighteen, and twenty miles wide at the mouth. It is impossible for any man to say to-day how soon these bays may become of great importance for fisheries.

But outside of the limitation upon our right to fish, a serious trouble arises. Suppose that Congress should not place upon the free list fish, and give to Canada what Sir Charles Tupper in his speech practically intimates Democratic statesmen said should be given, and she is left to seek her coveted treasure, our market, by the methods she has heretofore resorted to. The opportunities to harass, insult, outrage, fine, and confiscate; the difficulties on the part of our fishermen of determining their position, whether within or without the delimited waters, —are increased tenfold at least. While it may be possible without great trouble to determine whether or not a vessel is within the three-mile shore line, or within a bay, creek, or harbor six miles wide, it must be apparent to any one that it is more serious, a hundredfold, when the bays are increased in width sixteen, eighteen, and twenty miles, and when the line from lighthouse to lighthouse may be 60 miles away from the end of the bay.

Second. The strait of Canso has always been open to our vessels. No pretense from 1818 to the present time has ever been made that we had not the right of free passage through its waters, and no one dreams that it would ever be closed. Article 9 says that "nothing in this treaty shall interrupt or affect the free navigation of the strait of Canso by fishing vessels of the United States;" and the President of the United States congratulates us on that immense gain! But Sir Charles Tupper, in his speech to the Dominion Parliament, says that the Article was rendered necessary by the fact that we delimit, in the treaty, Chedabucta Bay, which covers the mouth of the strait.

Third. The President and his Secretary of State call especial attention to the relief afforded our distressed vessels from entry in less than twenty-four hours, from compulsory pilotage, etc., and commend to the consideration of the people the humane provisions of Articles 10 and 11. To be sure Article 10 does

relieve our fishing vessels from entry in less than twenty-four hours, if driven into Canadian harbors by stress of weather. Is that a concession? Why, we have always claimed that in any Canadian port, harbor, or creek, for shelter, we ought not to be compelled to enter in less than twenty-four hours, and there is not a civilized nation in the world that would require it of us. No instance can be found in which a Canadian vessel, under like circumstances, coming into our harbors has been compelled to report and enter in that time. Article 10 further relieves these vessels from compulsory pilotage. But there is no compulsory pilotage in the Dominion of Canada for fishing vessels eighty tons and under, and the average of our fishing vessels does not exceed that. Besides, in another article in the treaty it is provided that Canadian vessels shall enjoy such privileges in our ports and harbors as are given to our vessels in Canadian ports and harbors, and as we have no such limitation in our compulsory pilotage laws as eighty tons, the balance of benefit here would decidedly be for Canada. No American fisherman is ever heard to complain of the payment of pilotage; so this is no favor to us.

Article 11 of the treaty provides that American fishing vessels, forced into Canadian harbors under stress of weather or other casualty, "may unload, reload, transship or sell, subject to customs laws and regulations, all fish on board, when such unloading, transshipment, or sale is made necessary as incidental to repairs, and may replenish outfits, provisions and supplies damaged or lost by disaster; and in case of death or sickness shall be allowed all needful facilities, including the shipping of crews." It provides, further, that if they obtain licenses they may purchase such provisions and supplies as are ordinarily sold to trading vessels, necessary for the homeward voyage.

In other words, the treaty gives us that which no civilized nation on the face of the earth would deny to the vessel of any nation in distress. It gives to us that which it is discreditable to any nation to make a right, under a treaty. It gives to us that which humanity and civilization, as well as common decency, demand shall be given without let or hindrance. It gives to us, almost in words, what we compelled Algiers to give

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us in a treaty we made with her in 1815. It gives to us no more than, nor so much as, the people on the islands off the coast of China recently gave our wrecked vessels, for which Congress returned them thanks, and not so much as the Esquimaux have, over and over again, granted of their own free will and pleasure.

Fourth. We claim the right to equip our vessels with such papers as we ourselves shall determine by law, giving to one a register, to another an enrollment, and to another a license. If we reverse that rule and give to the licensed vessel a register, or if we give to the licensed vessel a permit to touch and trade, our right to do so is beyond question, and no nation can interfere with us in this regard. And yet the Dominion of Canada insists that the papers with which we arm our vessels are of no authority, and in this treaty their right to interfere in this regard is admitted in Article 13, which provides just how our vessels shall be designated by official numbers on bows, etc.

Fifth. Article 14 contains the legal amenities of the treaty, and they are amazingly generous, yielded in the nineteenth century by a neighboring nation! If one of our fishing vessels captures a mackerel for breakfast in the delimited water, no greater penalty shall be paid than the forfeiture of vessel and cargo! If a hook is baited, or a seine is mended with the intention of so fishing, the punishment shall not exceed forfeiture! For lesser offences three dollars a ton shall be the measure! Security for costs shall not be required so long as vessels and cargo are held, nor shall unreasonable bail be exacted. That these rights can be secured only by a solemn treaty, and must be paid for, requires no comment.

Sixth. By the terms of the treaty of 1818 we reserve to our fishing vessels the right to enter British waters for shelter, for repairs, to purchase wood and to take water, "and for no other purpose whatever." Under this article the Dominion of Canada insists that in the waters partitioned to them, our fishing vessels in their ports, etc., can have no privileges and no rights whatsoever beyond those named in the bond; that they cannot be permitted to buy flour or bread, beef or ice, bait or anything else except wood; and indeed they have gone so far

as to insist that under the term "wood" they did not include coal, and refused the fishing steamer Novelty permission to buy. We, on the contrary, have insisted that while from 1818, for twelve years thereafter, it is true our fishermen were to enjoy the privileges of harbor and shelter, repairs of damage, purchase of wood and taking of water only, yet since October 5, 1830, they and all other vessels of the United States of America were entitled to be treated in the harbors, bays, and creeks of the Dominion of Canada on terms of perfect equality of flag with the British American dependencies. We have insisted, and never have yielded in that insistance, that the acts of Congress and the British Orders in Council of 1830, with the proclamation of President Jackson in the same year, gave to all of our vessels, of whatever character, registered, enrolled, or licensed, complete commercial privileges in all the ports of the Dominion of Canada to the same extent they give to the vessels of the Dominion of Canada and of Great Britain rights and privileges in our ports.

Practically we, on our part, have lived up to that understanding from 1830 down to the present time. Secretary Bayard insisted upon those commercial rights and privileges up to the time he was appointed by the President a Plenipotentiary to negotiate this treaty. In 1886, in presenting to the British Government the case of the Annie M. Jordan, prohibited from buying bait, under date of June 7th, Mr. Bayard says:

"I earnestly protest against this unwarranted withholding of lawful commercial privileges from an American vessel and her owners, and for the loss and damage consequent thereon the Government of Great Britain will be held liable."

Again, in his letter to Sir Lionel West, May 10, 1886, he says:

"I may recall to your attention the fact that a proposition to exclude the vessels of the United States engaged in fishing from carrying also merchandise was made by the British negotiators of the treaty of 1818, but, being resisted by the American negotiators, was abandoned. This fact would seem clearly to indicate that the business of fishing did not then and does

not now disqualify a vessel from trading at the regular ports of entry."

Again, on July 10th of the same year, on a threat being made to seize American boats for buying herring in Canadian waters, he said:

"Such inhibition of usual and legitimate commercial contracts and intercourse is assuredly without warrant of law, and I draw your attention to it in order that the commercial rights of citizens of the United States may not thus be invaded and subjected to unfriendly discrimination."

Take the case of the steamer *Novelty*, denied the right to buy coal and ice and to transship fish in bond. Under date of July 10, 1886, Secretary Bayard says:

"Against this treatment I make instant and formal protest as an unwarranted interpretation and application of the treaty by the officers of the Dominion of Canada and Province of Nova Scotia, as an infraction of the laws of commercial and martitime intercourse existing between the two countries, and as a violation of hospitality, and for any loss or injury resulting therefrom the Government of her Britannic Majesty will be held liable."

Take the case of the *Mollie Adams*, which in a gale burst her water-tanks, put in for water, asked permission to buy a few barrels to hold it for her homeward voyage, and was threatened with seizure on that account. Under date of September 10th Secretary Bayard says:

"This inhospitable, indeed inhuman, conduct on the part of the customs officer in question should be severely reprimanded, and for the infraction of treaty rights and commercial privileges compensation equivalent to the injuries sustained will be claimed from her Majesty's Government."

And so on, over and over again, in scores of cases during the year 1886 our Secretary of State in unmistakable terms claimed of the British Government that we were entitled to all the commercial rights and privileges their vessels were receiving and were entitled to in the ports of the United States.

On the 10th of May, 1886, in a communication to Sir Lionel West, Secretary Bayard says:

"President Jackson's proclamation of October 5, 1830, created a reciprocal commercial intercourse on terms of perfect equality of flag between this country and the British-American dependencies by repealing the navigation acts of April 18, 1818, May 15, 1820, and March 1, 1823, and admitting British vessels and their cargoes 'to an entry in the ports of the United States from the islands, provinces, and colonies of Great Britain on or near the American continent, and north or east of the United States.' These commercial privileges have since received a large extension in the interests of propinquity, and in some cases favors have been granted by the United States without equivalent concession."

Mr. Phelps, our minister to England, in his statement of our case to Lord Rosebery under date of London, June 2, 1886, alluding to the case of the *David J. Adams*, seized for purchasing bait, says:

"Recurring, then, to the only real question in the case, whether the vessel is to be forfeited for purchasing bait of an inhabitant of Nova Scotia, to be used in lawful fishing, it may be readily admitted that if the language of the treaty of 1818 is to be interpreted literally, rather than according to its spirit and plain intent, a vessel engaged in fishing would be prohibited from entering a Canadian port 'for any purpose whatever' except to obtain wood or water, to repair damages, or to seek shelter.

"Such a literal construction is best refuted by considering its preposterous consequences. If a vessel enters a port to post a letter, or send a telegram, or buy a newspaper, to obtain a physician in case of illness, or a surgeon in case of accident, to land or bring off a passenger, or even to lend assistance to the inhabitants in fire, flood, or pestilence, it would, upon this construction, be held to violate the treaty stipulations maintained between two enlightened maritime and most friendly nations, whose ports are freely open to each other in all other places and under all other circumstances. If a vessel is not engaged in fishing she may enter all ports; but if employed in fishing, not denied to be lawful, she is excluded, though on the most innocent errand. She may buy water, but not food or

medicine; wood, but not coal. She may repair rigging, but not purchase a new rope, though the inhabitants are desirous to sell it. If she even entered the port (having no other business) to report herself to the custom-house, as the vessel in question is now seized for not doing, she would be equally within the interdiction of the treaty. If it be said these are extreme instances of violation of the treaty not likely to be insisted on, I reply that no one of them is more extreme than the one relied upon in this case."

He cites recognition, in official documents, of the right of our fishermen to commercial privileges, among others the letter of Lord Kimberly in 1871 to the Governor-General of Canada, as follows:

"The exclusion of American fishermen from resorting to Canadian ports, except for the purpose of shelter, and of repairing damages therein, purchasing wood, and of obtaining water, might be warranted by the letter of the treaty of 1818, and by the terms of the imperial act 59 George III., chap. 38, but her Majesty's Government feel bound to state that it seems to them an extreme measure, inconsistent with the general policy of the Empire, and they are disposed to concede this point to the United States Government under such restrictions as may be necessary to prevent smuggling, and to guard against any substantial invasion of the exclusive rights of fishing which may be reserved to British subjects."

He further says:

"Judicial authority upon this question is to the same effect. That the purchase of bait by American fishermen in the provincial ports has been a common practice is well known. But in no case, so far as I can ascertain, has a seizure of an American vessel ever been enforced on the ground of the purchase of bait, or of any other supplies. On the hearing before the Halifax Fisheries Commission in 1877 this question was discussed, and no case could be produced of any such condemnation. And in the case of the *White Fawn*, tried in the admiralty court of New Brunswick before Judge Hazen in 1870, I understand it to have been distinctly held that the purchase of bait, unless proved to have been in preparation for illegal

fishing, was not a violation of the treaty, nor of any existing law, and afforded no ground for proceedings against the vessel."

On the 18th of June, 1886, Secretary Bayard indorsed in the warmest terms Mr. Phelps' presentation of our case. The Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House, in its majority Democratic, through its Chairman, Mr. Belmont, in relation to commercial privileges says:

"The treaty of 1818 furnishes no more excuse for the exclusion of a deep-sea fisherman from the port of Halifax or any other open port of the Dominion of Canada than for the exclusion by the Secretary of the Treasury of a deep-sea fisherman from entering the port of New York according to the forms of law and for the ordinary purposes of trade and commerce. The exclusion if made must be justified, if at all, for other reasons than any yet given by Canada."

Again:

"Unless English words were in 1818 used in that article in an unusual sense, there is not a sentence or word therein that has reference to anything else than taking, drying, or curing fish by American fishermen on or within certain coasts, bays, creeks, or harbors therein described. No word or phrase mentioned alludes or refers to deep-sea fishing or ordinary commercial privileges. The restrictions refer only to fishing or drying or curing in such bays or harbors."

Again it says that "the conduct of the Dominion of Canada has been not only in violation of the treaty stipulations and international comity, but that during the fishing season just passed it has been inhuman, as the message of the President clearly shows."

And Secretary Manning in September, 1886, in a communication sent to Congress touching these fishery matters, said:

"But the Canadian act, thus having the royal approval, was intended, as has been openly avowed, to forfeit any American fishing vessel which is found having entered Canadian waters, or the port of Halifax, to buy ice, bait, or other articles, or for any purpose other than shelter, repairs, wood, or water. The plea is that the treaty of 1818 permits and stipulates for such legislation. That we deny, and reply that such legislation

is a repeal and annulment by England of the arrangement made in 1830, and to that repeal we are entitled to respond by a similar repeal of our own law, and by a refusal hereafter, and while debate or negotiation goes on, to confer hospitality, or any privileges whatever, in our ports, on Canadian vessels or boats of any sort. A violation of comity may be looked upon as an unfriendly act, but not a cause for a just war. England may judge for herself of the nature and extent of the comity and courtesy she will show to us. In the present case we do not propose retaliation; we simply respond. We, too, suspend comity and hospitality."

Indeed, since these difficulties began between the Dominion of Canada and the United States (all of them, nearly, arising from an attempt on the part of American vessels to avail themselves of commercial privileges in Canadian ports), and subsequent to 1830 up to the date of the remission of this treaty by the President of the United States to the Senate, there cannot be found a single utterance of any American statesman, Republican or Democrat, yielding one jot or one tittle of full and complete commercial rights and privileges for our fishing vessels in the ports of the Dominion of Canada, the same as we give to their vessels in ours.

And yet in Article 15 of this treaty there is a humiliating, dishonorable and cowardly surrender of this entire claim; and it is admitted that no fishing vessel of the United States, whether armed with a permit to touch and trade or not, has any right to buy in any Canadian port, in emergency of any kind whatsoever, except as is provided in Article 11, any article of merchandise whatsoever, necessary to the prosecution of her business. And it is provided, in that Article, that we never shall enjoy any such commercial privileges whatsoever unless we purchase them by a surrender of our market to Canada.

The last year of the treaty of Washington, by which, for the privilege of fishing within the three-mile shore line, we remitted duties on fish imported into this country by Canada, the remission, as has been stated before, amounted to nearly $700,000. To-day, if a law, it would amount to over a million dollars; and it will go on increasing in the future, so that, by

Article 15, if we desire to purchase in a Canadian port bait or ice, sails or boats, or anything necessary for the prosecution of our business, we can have that privilege by paying for it from a million to two million dollars a year.

Seventh. One thing which we also obtain for this great price is the transshipment of catch in Canadian ports. Article 29 of the treaty of Washington was as follows:

"It is further agreed that for the like period, goods, wares or merchandise, arriving at any of the ports of Her Britannic Majesty's possessions in North America and destined for the United States, may be entered at the proper custom-house and conveyed in transit, without the payment of duties, through the said possessions, under such rules and regulations and conditions for the protection of the revenue as the governments of said possessions may from time to time prescribe; and under like rules, regulations and conditions, goods, wares or merchandise may be conveyed in transit, without payment of duties, from the United States through the said possessions to other places in the United States, or for export from ports in the said possessions."

Under that Article (never abrogated) Canada is enjoying, and has been ever since it took effect, to the fullest and completest extent, all the privileges it provides for. It has been of immense advantage to her business interests, to her railroads and her canals. Since the enactment of our interstate commerce law, it has given her undue advantage over our own trans-continental lines of road, and at their cost immensely benefited hers. It is not too much to say, that shut up as Canada is for six months in the year by her climate, without the privileges here provided for, she would be terribly cramped, and her interests would suffer most seriously. And yet by Article 15, if we wish to transship a barrel of mackerel in one of her ports, unless there in distress, we can be permitted to do it only by paying from a million dollars and upwards annually for the privilege.

Now where in this treaty is there anything gained to us? Is it not in all regards a surrender? Even if rejected, has not the President inflicted upon us a great wrong? Mr. Chamber-

lain, in a speech made at a banquet after his return home to England, declared that even if the Senate should reject the treaty, immense concessions had been made, and our Government could not repeat its demands hereafter. Sir Charles Tupper intimated a like condition, if rejection should follow. The *Montreal Gazette* under date of March 1st says:

"If we have to revert to the condition of things which prevailed in 1886 and in 1887, there will be general regret; but at least Canadians can have this satisfaction, that in reverting to the treaty of 1818 we do so with our position infinitely strengthened by the formal acknowledgment on the part of President Cleveland and his government, that all our contentions are right."

The negotiation, the treaty, the message of the President of the United States, the speeches and proclamations of the Secretary of State in behalf of this treaty, the earnest and zealous efforts of the administration to induce its ratification, the arraying of the Democratic party in Congress for it (whether it may be rejected by the United States Senate or not), can be productive only of evil, and tend only to weaken or destroy the American sentiment which so prevailed in the Forty-ninth Congress. Already administration papers begin to sneer at American fishermen, and to talk about "buying them up." Even the President of the United States singles out the fishery industry for attack, and writes a letter to a district-attorney in Massachusetts, calling his attention to violations of law in the importations of Canadian sailors, while since he has been President thousands of contract laborers on railroads have been imported, and complaints have been made to his attorney-general, presumably to him, without eliciting from him the mildest protest.

The next move of the Democratic administration will be a compulsory process against Congress, to force the enactment of a law placing fish on the free list, and thus surrender to Canada the market to obtain which she has committed these "brutal" outrages, and almost placed herself outside the pale of civilization. Sir Charles Tupper, in his speech on the treaty in the Canadian Parliament, practically says this was promised

him. Why should the American fishermen be selected for this sacrifice?

The Republic itself has a deep and an abiding interest in this industry. Can it see with indifference its gradual decay, and regard without lively concern its certain extinction? Will it enter no protest against the deadly blows struck by its own treaty-making power? Has it forgotten that its proud position was largely won by the endurance, skill, courage, and fidelity of these sailors; that Louisburg was wrested from the French by their valor, and that these very waters, now in contention, were secured to Great Britain by their courage? Can she be unmindful of their conspicuous services in the war for our independence?

Who will deny that the glories we won in 1812 on lake and on sea were their achievement? Who does not know that in our last terrible struggle for life there was not a deck of our fleet unmoistened with their blood? If we ever have another war, which God forbid, it will be on the sea. Who shall man our fleet? It is asserted, and I believe truly, that 85 per cent of the sailors employed in our ocean foreign-carrying trade are foreigners, owing our country no allegiance, and inspired by no love for our flag. They surely would be a broken reed in the hour of national peril. Of the men in our fishing fleet 80 per cent are American citizens, 65 per cent of American birth. Inured to every hardship, exposed to constant danger, fighting a ceaseless battle with wind and wave, loving freedom for freedom's sake, and ready on call to defend their rights; courageous, skilled, and patriotic—they are to-day the best and most reliable sailors in the world, and to a man would promptly respond to their country's call.

The American fishermen are assuredly entitled to encouragement and protection by our government, and they may be certain that the Republican party, true to its instincts, will stand by them until all their rights are secured.

THE AMERICAN NAVY.

By Hon. Wm. E. Chandler, U. S. Senator from New Hampshire.

Coming into power on the 4th of March, 1861, the Republican party found the slave-holding States seceding from the Union and ready to begin civil war.

The condition of the navy is described in the official reports of Secretary Welles. There were in commission but 42 ships, built of wood and carrying only smooth-bore cannon. "These vessels had a complement, exclusive of officers and marines, of about 7600 men, and nearly all of them were on foreign stations. The home squadron consisted of 12 vessels, carrying 187 guns and about 2000 men. *Of this squadron only four small vessels, carrying* 25 *guns and about* 280 *men, were in Northern ports.*" Four were at Pensacola, and four were returning from Mexico.

Mr. Welles said: "Neither the expiring administration nor Congress, which had been in session until the 4th of March, had taken measures to increase or strengthen our naval power, notwithstanding the lowering aspect of our public affairs; so that when a few weeks after the inauguration I desired troops for the protection of the public property at Norfolk and Annapolis, or sailors to man and remove the vessels, neither soldiers nor sailors could be procured. There were no men to man our ships, nor were the few ships at our yards in condition to be put into immediate service." He also said: "With so few vessels in commission on our coast, and our crews in distant seas, the Department was very indifferently prepared to meet the exigency that was rising. Every movement was closely watched by the disaffected, and threatened to precipitate measures that the country seemed anxious to avoid. Demoralization prevailed among the officers, many of whom, occupying the most responsible positions, betrayed symptoms of that infidelity which has dishonored the service. But while so many

officers were unfaithful, the crews, to their honor be it recorded, were true and reliable, and have maintained through every trial and under all circumstances their devotion to the Union and the flag. Unfortunately, however, few comparatively of these gallant men were within the call of the Department at that eventful period. They, as well as the ships, were abroad."

Thus it appears that because James Buchanan, a Democratic President, was weak and unfaithful to his high trust, and Isaac Toucey, a Democratic Secretary of the Navy, was at heart a traitor, the navy of the United States had been so managed as to offer as little hindrance as possible to the progress of the rebellion. The Republican administration, however, did the best it could. Mr. Welles in 1862 describes the progress made as follows:

"The result is that we have at this time afloat or progressing to rapid completion a naval force consisting of 427 vessels, there having been added to those of the old navy enumerated in my report of July, 1861, exclusive of those that were lost, 353 vessels armed in the aggregate with 1577 guns, and of the capacity of 240,028 tons. The annals of the world do not show so great an increase in so brief a period to the naval power of any country."

On December 4, 1865, Mr. Welles sums up what had been done by the navy in putting down the rebellion thus:

"From 7600 men in the service at the commencement of the rebellion, the number was increased to 51,500 at its close. In addition to these the aggregate of artisans and laborers employed in the navy yards was 16,880, instead of 3844 previously in the pay of the government. This is exclusive of those employed in private ship yards and establishments, under contracts, constituting an almost equal aggregate number. Two hundred and eight (208) vessels have been commenced and most of them fitted for service during this period. A few of the larger ones will require still further time for completion. Only steamers, the propellers also having sailing power, have been built by the government during my administration of the Department. Since the 4th of March, 1861, 418 vessels have been purchased, of which 313 were steamers, at a cost of

$18,366,681.83, and of these there have been sold 340 vessels, for which the government has received $5,621,800.27."

The work of the navy in suppressing the rebellion was not entirely performed in vessels of wood, but, aided by the genius of Captain John Ericsson, the United States built the first turreted iron-clads known to the world, and the monitor type of vessels so well adapted to our coasts, was introduced into naval warfare. The whole extraordinary army and navy expenditure for putting down the slave-holders' rebellion has been estimated at $6,189,929,908.58, of which the naval payments were $421,281,166.42.*

The glory of the brilliant exploits of the officers and men of the navy thus organized to fight in the ships of the nation the war for the Union is not to be appropriated by a political party; but the Republican party certainly can rejoice over the Union victories which were achieved on land and ocean with far more fervor than can the Democratic party, which caused and prolonged the bloody strife.

The illustrated "Naval History of the Civil War," lately written, impartially and most attractively, by Admiral Porter, well presents the names, the forms, and the achievements of our naval heroes, and they may be contemplated with pride by all the Republicans of the country. There is also a record which will be even more permanent than the narrative of the great admiral. The thanks of Congress were given February 22, 1862, to Captain Samuel F. Dupont for the decisive and splendid victory at Port Royal; March 19 and July 16, 1862, to Captain A. H. Foote for gallantry in the attacks upon Forts Henry and Donelson and Island No. 10, and for opening the Tennessee, Cumberland, and Mississippi rivers; July 11, 1862, and February 3, 1863, to Lieutenant J. L. Worden for skill and gallantry in the battle between the *Monitor* and *Merrimac;* July 11, 1862, to Captain, and February 16, 1866, to Vice-Admiral, David G. Farragut for the capture of Forts Jackson and St. Philip and the city of New Orleans, and unsurpassed gallantry and skill in the engagement in Mobile Bay; July 11,

* Forty-eighth Congress, 2d Session, Senate Executive Document 206.

1862, to Captain Louis M. Goldsborough for the brilliant and decisive victory at Roanoke Island; February 7, 1863, to Commodore Charles Henry Davis for services at Fort Pillow and Memphis and in the Mississippi River, to Captain Stephen C. Rowan for distinguished services in the waters of North Carolina and in the capture of Newbern, and to Rear-Admiral Silas H. Stringham for the capture of Forts Hatteras and Clark; December 23, 1863, to Captain John Rodgers for capturing the *Atlanta* with the *Weehawken;* February 7, 1863, to Commander, and April 19, 1864, and January 24, 1865, to Admiral, David D. Porter for the capture of Arkansas Post, for opening the Mississippi River, and for capturing Fort Fisher; December 20, 1864, to Captain John A. Winslow for the brilliant action between the *Kearsarge* and the piratical craft *Alabama*, and to Lieutenant William B. Cushing for the destruction of the *Albemarle;* and Congress included in their formal commendation all the subordinate officers and the seamen and marines who aided these naval heroes in their deeds of glory. These thanks went out with special fervor from the hearts of the Republicans of the North, who without doubt or hesitancy were sustaining the cause of the Union in which our naval victories were won.

In 1865, immediately upon the close of the war, the Republican party lost the control of the executive branch of the government through the assassination of Mr. Lincoln and the abandonment by his successor, Mr. Johnson, of the party which had elected him Vice-President. The naval work of this administration was mainly selling those vessels of the great national fleet which were no longer needed and reducing the force of officers and men in the naval service to the former numbers. The Republican party resumed executive power under President Grant in 1869. He announced himself as opposed to keeping the navy on its inferior footing "by the repairing and refitting of our old ships." Under him a few new wooden ships were built, being the sloops-of-war *Trenton*, *Adams*, *Essex*, *Enterprise*, *Alliance*, *Alert*, *Huron*, and *Ranger*. It shortly became evident, however, that a great change in the conditions governing naval construction and naval warfare had taken place. European

nations, which had begun building iron-armored vessels before our war, had also adopted and developed our invention of the monitor type of ships, and it soon appeared probable that the days of wooden navies were ended and that the war-ship of the future would be built of iron or steel. It also became apparent that the navy yards which had in 1861 been transferred with the wooden ships by the Democratic to the Republican administration had brought with them most unbusiness-like and pernicious methods of doing work. It could be readily seen that a revolution before long was to be effected in the character of war-ships and their armament and in the modes of naval construction.

Before, however, this necessity for a new modern fleet of iron or steel was fully developed the national House of Representatives, as the result of the election in November, 1874, became Democratic, and so remained for six years. During this period the House in dealing with naval matters, while embarrassing the service by petty attempts to cut down needful expenditures and by continually making partisan assaults upon the administration of the Navy Department, made no efforts whatever towards real reform in naval methods, and did nothing whatever towards the reconstruction of the navy.

Five double-turreted monitors, the *Miantonomoh*, *Monadnock*, *Amphitrite*, *Terror*, and *Puritan*, had been commenced under contracts with private builders, and President Grant in his messages of December 7, 1875, and December 5, 1876, earnestly recommended their completion; but the Democratic House refused all appropriations and left these powerful ships unlaunched and cumbering the yards of the builders.

In 1881, however, the Republicans again obtained control of the national House of Representatives. President Arthur in his message of December 6, 1881, said to Congress: I cannot too strongly urge upon you my conviction that every consideration of national safety, economy, and honor imperatively demands a thorough rehabilitation of our navy." On the 5th of August, 1882, a bill became a law which may be considered the beginning of a new era in American naval affairs. (1) There were on the Navy Register too many officers, and

provision was made for their gradual diminution by the process of omitting to fill vacancies, until there should be a reduction of 140 staff and 115 line officers, leaving the reduced number of 1562 in all, and (2) it was enacted that thereafter no more graduates of the naval academy should be taken into the service than should be necessary to fill vacancies which might happen. (3) The appropriations for the cumbrous civil establishment at the navy yards and stations were reduced, and the Secretary was directed, if the work could not be carried on for the amounts appropriated, to make no deficiency, but to suspend work at some of the yards. (4) It was deemed indispensable to the construction of a new steel navy that the lives of the old wooden ships should not be prolonged by perpetual repairs, and it was therefore enacted that no wooden ship should be repaired where the estimated cost either as to the hulls or engines would exceed 30 per cent of their estimated value. (5) The construction of two new modern naval cruisers was authorized, to be built of steel of a specified strength and ductility, and to be armed with rifled ordnance of the best and latest type.

The Republican administration carried out with promptness the directions of this reformatory act of August 5, 1882. Its work has been concisely stated thus:

"A new naval policy was adopted prescribing a reduction in the number of officers, the elimination of drunkards, great strictness and impartiality in discipline, the discontinuance of extensive repairs of old wooden ships, the diminution of navy-yard expenses, and the beginning of the construction of a new navy of modern steel ships and guns according to the plans of a skillful Naval Advisory Board. The first of such vessels, the cruisers *Chicago*, *Boston*, and *Atlanta*, and the dispatch-boat, *Dolphin*, with their armaments, were designed in this country and built in American workshops."

"The Gun Foundry Board, consisting of army and navy officers, appointed under the act of the 3d of March, 1883, visited Europe and made full reports advising large contracts for terms of years with American manufacturers to produce the steel necessary for heavy cannon, and recommending the estab-

lishment of one army and one navy gun-factory for the fabrication of modern ordnance." *

In July, 1883, contracts were made for the construction of the above four ships with John Roach, who was the lowest bidder of the only three iron ship-builders of the United States, who all made proposals for the work. The construction progressed rapidly, and on the 4th of March, 1885, when the Democratic administration of Mr. Cleveland came into power, the *Dolphin* was completed and ready for her trial-trip, the *Boston* and *Atlanta* were nine tenths completed, and the *Chicago* was eight tenths completed.

The first determination of the Democratic Secretary of the Navy, Mr. William C. Whitney, was to make political capital for his party by condemning as worthless the four new ships then so nearly finished. The *Dolphin* had her trial-trip March 10th, and the Advisory Board, which had been created by direction of Congress to supervise the construction of the new ships, reported that she had been built in all respects in accordance with the contract; that although the horse-power on this trip was 183 less than the 2300 specified in the contract, the board was of opinion that the deficiency was not due to defective workmanship or materials, which was all the contractor had guaranteed against, and that with better coal and a well-trained engineer force this difficulty would be overcome; that the mean speed was 15.16 knots per hour; and that the ship ought to be accepted. Under this report, in accordance with the contract, the builder was entitled to have the ship accepted; but Secretary Whitney on account of the petty deficiency of horse-power demanded two more trials, the last to be on the open ocean, and also appointed an additional board to scrutinize the vessel, composed of a captain just asking promotion and special orders to duty from the Secretary, and whose friends in the newspapers were praising him because he was a Democrat, another naval officer who had been relieved from duty by the previous Secretary for indecent conduct and was seeking revenge, and a civilian named Herman Winter, who

* Appleton's Cyc. Am. Biography. Life of President Arthur.

had been virtually in the employ of Secretary Whitney. Unwarranted and unjust as were Mr. Whitney's exactions, Mr. Roach was compelled to submit to them. The new trial-trip took place May 28th, a six hours' run was made in Long Island Sound, and the following telegram was sent:

ASTOR HOUSE, NEW YORK CITY, May 28, 1885.

"*Secretary of the Navy, Washington:*

"*Dolphin* ran six consecutive hours to-day without mishap of any sort, averaging from 72 to 76 turns per minute. All conditions very favorable. Steam pressure, 84 to 89 pounds. Average speed, $15\frac{1}{2}$ knots; speed for two hours, 15.9 per hour. Approximate mean collective horse-power, 2240. As ship was aground on reef on Wednesday she ought to be docked before sea trial.

"G. E. BELKNAP, *President of Board.*"

This telegram was carefully concealed for a whole year by Mr. Whitney, and never saw the light of day until May 25, 1886, when he was compelled to answer a Senate resolution of March 6, 1886.

On June 11, 1885, the sea trial took place outside of Sandy Hook, and its success was announced as follows:

"NEW YORK, June 11, 1885.

"*Secretary of the Navy, Washington:*

"The *Dolphin* ran six consecutive hours at sea to-day, loaded to service trim, without drawback, making from 64 to 72 revolutions of screw per minute; natural draught; no blowers used. Average approximate speed, $12\frac{3}{4}$ knots as shown by patent log. Approximate speed shown by bearings influenced by fair tide, 13.4 knots. All conditions favorable for trial, smooth sea not admitting of real test as to sea-going qualities of ship. Ship probably cannot be docked before early next week.

"GEO. E. BELKNAP, *President of Board.*"

This telegram was indorsed by Mr. Whitney, "Don't give this out," and was also kept secret from June 11, 1885, to May 25, 1886. But Secretary Whitney immediately, in a fit of

anger and disappointment, sent the following order to his servile board to condemn the ship without further ceremony:

"NAVY DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C., June 12, 1885.

"*To Captain George E. Belknap, President of the Board, New York, N. Y.:*

"Yesterday's trial was, as you know, valueless. It occurred without my orders or knowledge. I find that the orders were give here in my absence under mistake. To test her strength when subjected to the strain of a heavy sea was the object of her trial. I do not doubt her ability to run 13 knots an hour in smooth water. I want to know whether she is structurally weak or not. Putting her into a heavy sea at a speed not trying to her machinery was the condition you asked for. Has yesterday's trial aided you in determining this matter? If not, require such tests to be had within the next week as you may deem necessary for the purpose. Have the board stay in New York until this is settled. *Do this unless you prefer to make your report based on your present information.*

"W. C. WHITNEY, *Secretary.*"

Thus coerced, the board hesitated no longer, but on June 15th made an untruthful condemnatory report. Mr. Whitney next submitted the case to the Attorney-General for his legal opinion, asserting to him as a matter of fact that the ship had not reached a speed of 15 knots and had proved structurally weak, both of which statements were false. Then came Attorney-General Garland's astounding opinion, not only that the *Dolphin* did not comply with the contract, but that there was no contract at all between Mr. Roach and the United States, and that all sums received by him had been paid without authority of law and might be recovered from him, and that the ship might be held for the money so decided to be due. This decision was made nominally on account of the obviously just clause in the contract, also contained in the contracts for the *Boston*, *Atlanta*, and *Chicago*, which provided that the contractor should not be responsible for any deficiency of horse-power unless caused by defective workmanship or materials. Immediately after this absurd opinion was delivered,

Mr. Whitney telegraphed, July 14, 1885, to the commandant of the navy yard at New York, "Take masts, rigging, and all government property out of *Dolphin*," and gave the Attorney-General's opinion to the public, while concealing, as before stated, the two telegrams above given, which proved the utter untruthfulness of the pretenses upon which the Democratic administration was laboring to condemn the ships merely because Republicans had built them. In these devilish assaults Mr. Roach's credit received a fatal blow. Upon the four ships there had been paid him $2,125,226.51. His assets in his two ship-yards were $4,631,478.23, and his debts $2,262,877.81. The public declaration by Secretary Whitney and Attorney-General Garland that Mr. Roach also owed $2,125,226.51 to the government completely crippled him, and he was compelled on July 18th to make an assignment and close his works at Chester, Pa., and at New York City. Representative Goff in his speech in the House of Representatives, June 18, 1886, thus states the consequences:

"There were thrown from employment by Mr. Whitney's blow at Mr. Roach, necessitated by his assignment, at the Morgan Iron Works, ten hundred and fifty-two men with a weekly pay-roll of $12,358.28; at the Chester Works, eleven hundred and thirty-seven men, with a weekly pay-roll of $11,802.02—$24,160.30. The usual force employed for years before had been, at the Morgan Works, eleven hundred and thirty-one men, with a weekly pay-roll of $14,034.46; at the Chester Works, thirteen hundred and thirty-one men, with a weekly pay-roll of $14,341.20—$28,375.66. During the five years from 1872 to 1876 Mr. Roach had consumed materials and paid out wages amounting to $14,890,147, of which the wages at the works were $7,269,734, and 90 per cent of the whole amount represents the labor of American workmen. Between 1876 and 1885 Mr. Roach had built sixty-six steamers at contract prices of $19,345,000, and done other work amounting to $3,147,000; or a total in nine years of $22,492,000, ninety-five per cent of which went for American labor."

The limits of this article do not allow a full statement of the cruel and atrocious treatment of Mr. Roach. He was 70 years

of age; his health and spirits were broken; he gave up the struggle, and died on the 10th day of January, 1887. His death lies at Mr. Whitney's door. Nevertheless the latter continued to pursue with persistent unfairness all four of the ships. After Mr. Roach's failure he was compelled to utterly disregard Mr. Garland's opinion and take possession of them all. He sent the *Dolphin* to sea, hoping to show her to be weak in a gale of wind. But she proved stanch and fleet. He attempted to condemn the *Atlanta* in a similar manner, but failed. He treated as passports for naval officers to his favor, assaults by them upon the ships. At last realizing that, after all, the ships however treated would be successful, he determined that they should not be finished so long as he could defer completion. He entered the Department March 7, 1885, with the ships, after one and two-thirds years from the dates of the contracts, nearly completed. More than three additional years have already elapsed and only the *Dolphin* and *Atlanta* are in commission! The *Boston* and *Chicago* have not yet had their standing rigging put up. This delay can proceed from but one motive—that the ships must be discredited and condemned at all hazards. As a matter of fact, the vessels have proved substantially faultless in all respects; have more than met all reasonable expectations; and are highly creditable to the designers and builder and to the government. Mr. Whitney's attempt to place a taint upon them, and his cruel treatment of John Roach, whom he drove to the grave, have been such partisan and disgraceful acts as could only have proceeded from an unscrupulous and brutal Democrat.

When Mr. Whitney came into office, besides having the arbitrary power to discredit the four ships built by Mr. Roach, and to ruin the builder, he found himself also invested with authority by an act of March 3, 1885, to build the following additional steel vessels: two cruisers of not exceeding 5000 tons, to cost, exclusive of their guns, not more than $1,100,000 each; one heavy gunboat at a cost of $520,000, and one light gunboat at a cost of $275,000. The history of the legislation giving this authority is instructive. The Senate Committee on Naval Affairs prior to February, 1884, had fully and carefully

investigated the Roach ships and made a report approving the same, and the Senate on February 28th passed a bill by vote of 38 to 13 (the latter all Democratic) for building additional ships.

The House refused to pass this bill, and sent to the Senate the annual naval appropriation bill without any provision for additional ships, and for the monitors only $5000 for their "care and safe-keeping." The Senate amended the bill by adding appropriations for the ships specified in the special bill which they had passed. The amendment was resisted by the House, and repeated conferences were held by committees of the two bodies, but all failed.

As the result of these repeated disagreements no annual appropriation bill for the navy was passed. On the 7th of July, 1884, it became necessary for the Senate to agree to a temporary resolution for maintaining the navy for six months, and to submit to the insertion therein of a clause forbidding the use of any money on the monitors, and even repealing the authority then existing to build the engines of the *Monadnock*, the monitor under construction on the Pacific coast.

This partisan action the Democratic House continued during the ensuing winter of 1884–1885 as to all appropriations which might be expended by a Republican administration. The House passed a resolution providing for the ordinary naval expenses for the remaining six months of the fiscal year. The Senate again added their provision for new ships, but the House refused to accept it and again passed the resolution making temporary provision for the six months, and the Senate at last, after amending it so as to give it the form of a bill in detail, was obliged to agree to its passage without any provision for the increase of the navy.

The Republicans, however, continued without partisanship to maintain their advocacy of progress in the reconstruction of the navy. The House passed the regular naval appropriation bill for 1885–1886 with certain absurd provisions relative to a board of construction, to design various classes of vessels after which one vessel of each class was to be built from unlimited appropriations to be made by the bill for such purpose.

The bill also appropriated $1,780,000 for the 6000-ton ship which had been authorized by the act of August 5, 1882, but which had not been constructed on account of the limit of cost imposed by the act; and there was also a provision for $400,000 to complete the *New York*, a large, old-fashioned wooden ship which had been for many years on the stocks in the New York navy yard; but nothing for the monitors.

The Senate substituted for the preposterous House provisions sufficient appropriations for two cruisers, one heavy gunboat, one light gunboat, and $2,000,000 for work on the monitors; and after conferences between the two Houses the bill became a law March 3, 1885, the Senate giving up the two millions for the monitors, and the House consenting to provide for the two cruisers and the gunboats; which ships, when Mr. Whitney came into office, he found himself authorized to build.

The spirit of the two parties thus exhibited was continued at subsequent sessions; the Republicans ready and eager to grant liberal appropriations for a new navy, even to a Democratic Secretary like Mr. Whitney; the Democrats slow and reluctant. Republican persistency was rewarded with a large measure of success so far as relates to appropriations. A bill was passed August 3, 1886, for the construction of two armored ships at a cost of not more than $2,500,000 each, one steel cruiser not to exceed in cost $1,500,000, one torpedo-boat to cost $100,000; also for completing the monitors at a cost not exceeding $3,178,046; and for the armament of all the various uncompleted vessels $1,000,000 was granted.

Congress also authorized by the act of March 3, 1887, the construction of two additional gunboats at a cost of not more than $550,000 each, two steel cruisers not to exceed in cost $3,000,000; further authorized floating batteries or rams to cost $2,000,000; and gave towards the completion of the monitors and other ships $2,420,000, for the armament of all the ships $2,128,362, and in addition, in pursuance of the plans of the Gun Foundry Board, for armor and gun-steel $4,000,000.

The total of all this power granted to the Cleveland administration, beginning with the two cruisers and two gunboats

authorized on the day it entered office, March 4, 1885, is to build and to arm twelve new vessels, and to finish four monitors, all at a cost of $28,421,408! At the end of three years and four months it has succeeded in launching one gunboat and one torpedo-boat!

It is doubtful whether it will succeed in building and placing in commission one ship during its term of four years. Difficulties, delays, extensions of time, and changes of plan, such as were relentlessly condemned when happening in the case of the Roach ships, have multiplied upon the Navy Department without number. Discrediting American designers, it has expended upwards of $50,000 abroad for plans of ships and engines prepared by English constructors and engineers, which are not unlikely to prove worthless.

In its conduct of the Navy Department other than that of naval construction the administration is no less censurable. President Cleveland began with a denunciation of the organization of the Department as wholly vicious, called it merely a "shabby ornament of the government," and the demand was made in 20 pages of the first departmental report for its complete and fundamental reorganization according to a ridiculous plan. No member of Congress ventured even to introduce a bill to carry out this wild scheme. A second and modified plan was drawn up scarcely less obnoxious, and a bill was accordingly introduced into the House of Representatives. This was assailed by speeches and a minority report by Representatives Goff and Boutelle; it fell still-born and has never since been heard of.

Steady discipline in the navy has been abandoned, and laxity with spasmodic tyranny has taken its place. Drunken officers have been screened from punishment and placed on the retired list, or after conviction and sentence of dismissal have been allowed to resign. Politics have been made the basis of all employment in the navy yards, and the yards have been given over to the control of local political bosses. Subserviency with prostitution of faculties like that of Captains George E. Belknap, John G. Walker, Richard W. Meade, and Francis M. Bunce has been rewarded with place and power;

while manly independence like that of Chief Engineer Charles H. Loring has been punished by removal and ostracism.

A political striker, formerly a restaurant-keeper, was first made chief clerk of an important bureau, and is now principal manager of the Department; and upon him naval officers of rank, high as well as low, are compelled to dance attendance, while the proper functionary is absent or engrossed in multifarious occupations and diversions in no sense naval in their character, by which the current business of the Department is unreasonably delayed and hindered.

Much good work in naval designing and construction is doubtless under way, but it is carried forward by competent and faithful naval officers with whom the Department does not venture materially to interfere. It may not unfairly be said that whatever good things are being done by the Navy Department are not original with the present administration, but follow lines previously laid out, while whatever can be claimed as distinctly so original is either unwise or vicious. Republicans may safely give and can easily maintain this challenge.

It is proper to allude to the attacks which have been made upon the Republican administration of the navy. Secretary Robeson has been constantly assailed, but an analysis of the complaints against him shows hardly more than this: that he used appropriations made for the repairs of ships to completely rebuild such vessels, that he exchanged old iron for new iron under contracts made for building vessels, and that he paid one or two just and equitable claims without technical authority to do so. These charges, about which great clamor has been made, may be dismissed as not of great moment. Necessarily with naval expenditures of $731,709,705.53 made by the Republican party during its twenty-four years of continuous control of the navy, including four years of sudden and stupendous civil war upon land and water, some mistakes would be made, some unwise expenditures would be incurred, some unfaithfulness and dishonesty in officials would be developed. But it may be claimed that such cases have been comparatively few

and unimportant, and that the general record is one showing Republican capacity, fidelity, and integrity of administration.

The great burden of Democratic complaint has been that the Republican party has spent since the war $400,000,000 and has no navy to show for it. Senator Vest three times thus unfairly reiterates the charge: "$385,000,000 have been voted by the Congress of the United States to build a navy since 1866, and where is the navy?" "Where is the navy of the United States, and where is the money? Both are missing." "This condition is the result of maladministration and the reckless waste of $385,000,000 appropriated by Congress since 1866 for the support of the navy." An examination of the gross sum thus mentioned shows that by far the larger part of the expenditures for the navy have been for the pay of officers and men and for what may be called the ordinary and indispensable running expenses of keeping up the establishment, and that the expenditures for the construction and repair of ships during the seventeen years of Republican control, after the war transactions closed, were about $60,000,000 and not $400,000,000.

It would be equally good reasoning to charge the Democratic party with incapacity and dishonesty because during the seventeen years before 1860 it had expended $162,251,675.02 on the navy and had little to show for it, or because it expended during that time $49,174,787.99 on ships and had only a few worthless wooden craft and smooth-bore guns when the war began. During that period the pay of officers and men was $72,354,412.11, as from 1869 to 1884 such pay under Republican rule was $133,012,940.85. Is it a fair argument to ask what ships and guns there were to show for these immense sums?

That adequate results have not been obtained from the expenditure, for the construction and repair of vessels, of $60,000,000 since the war, may be true. The reason has been the continuance in existence of old wooden ships, upon which expensive repairs have been made under a vicious navy-yard system. But this system, as has been shown, was inherited from the Democratic party, and was reformed by the Repub-

lican Congress of 1882. The limitation then put upon the repairs of wooden ships, finally fixed at a percentage not to exceed 25 of the estimated cost of the whole ship, has been maintained by the Republican Senate against repeated efforts of the Democratic House to break it down; and it may safely be predicted that the navy yards as conducted by the present administration will prove to be as expensive and as grossly partisan as they were under Democratic rule before the war.

A just summary of the relations of the Republican party to the navy is to say (1) that it took from the Democratic party a navy of little value, with its vessels scattered by a Democratic Secretary to the four waters of the globe in order to aid the war against the Union; and quickly improvised a naval fleet of numbers and capacity sufficient under the control of officers and men winning famous naval victories to blockade our whole Southern coast and to perform fully its part in putting down the rebellion; (2) that when the war was ended and the Union saved it reduced the navy to a peace footing, adopted as soon as practicable a comprehensive plan for reconstructing the navy according to modern conditions, and began the work and gave to the country four fine steel ships as the beginning of a new fleet; and (3) that it delivered the Navy Department in good condition to the present Democratic administration, whose mismanagement of naval affairs has been such as to make it important to the national interests that Republican control should be restored.

OUR COAST DEFENSES.

By Hon. Jos. R. Hawley, U. S. Senator from Connecticut.

The United States is a nation of more than 60,000,000 of people, worth more than $40,000,000,000, and is defenseless against the weakest of the civilized powers of the earth. No enemy would ever undertake to invade our territory. We have a little regular army of 25,000 men, of whom perhaps 15,000 could be spared to be collected in case of emergency. We have between 150,000 and 200,000 of organized militia or National Guard, who could be immediately assembled, tolerably well equipped and disciplined, and we have a reserve of small arms on hand to arm a few hundred thousand more. It is true that we have only twenty-five or thirty steel breech-loading, rifled field-pieces fit for a modern light battery, and a few obsolete light guns, but doubtless we could give a good account of ourselves in a short time against an enemy on land. Nobody, I say, will invade us with land forces.

While we remain in our present condition the Congress of the United States will never declare war for any imaginable outrage. Against such we are compelled to negotiate and procrastinate. But it is possible to suppose that demands may be made upon us with uplifted hand which from very shame we should be obliged to deny. In what condition should we find ourselves?

To quote from Captain Griffin's excellent pamphlet: "A complete system of sea-coast defenses consists of three lines. The outer line is composed of war-ships; the second or skirmish line, of torpedo-boats; and the third or inner line, of land fortifications and channel obstructions, the latter usually fixed electrical torpedoes. Besides these there should be a reserve of war-ships, torpedo boats and launches, gunboats, floating batteries, etc."

And first, as to the outer line. The total of our navy is 98

vessels. Of these there are 12 tugs at navy yards, 12 old sailing vessels used as receiving and school-ships, and 6, classed unserviceable, used as receiving ships, or condemned and waiting to be sold. This reduces the number to 68. Seven are classed as fourth-rate. Two of these are weak old propellers; one is the barkentine we are allowed by treaty to keep in the northern lakes; one is a dispatch-boat; one is the ram *Alarm;* one, a small four-gun cruiser building at Baltimore; and one, the experimental dynamite-gun vessel.

Among the 43 third-rates are 5 old double-turret monitors that have been "awaiting completion" since the war; 13 are single-turret monitors with only four inches of plating, each carrying two old smooth-bore guns; and 25 unarmored vessels, ranging from 900 to 1700 tons. Two have iron hulls, four steel, and the rest are wooden. The best are four steel vessels, three of which are building. They are cruisers and commerce-destroyers, and could not fight modern forts or armored vessels.

Of second-rates there are 13. Five of these are steel, one of which is to be a battle-ship of 6300 tons, and three of which are protected or partially protected cruisers. Three of these five are still in the builder's hands. The others are also wooden ships of honorable record—the *Hartford*, *Richmond*, etc. The *Trenton* is the best—3900 tons and ten guns. The modern 8-inch steel gun would send a shot through two such vessels from stem to stern.

Of the first-rates there are five steel vessels,—or will be, as four of them are protected cruisers still in the contractor's hands.

The vessels worth counting are those of the first, second, and third rates—61 in all. Ten are building. Eighteen are monitors, twelve of which are not worth fitting up, even for harbor defense. The remaining 33 are chiefly innocent old wooden propellers, armed with smooth-bores and a few Parrott rifles of the class that kill more friends than enemies. Only four of them are modern steel vessels, and they are of the lighter order. Of those building, but one aims to be a battle-ship, and she will rank far below the first-rates of other nations.

The navy has the start of the land forces in reconstruction under modern ideas. Sixteen or seventeen vessels have been ordered by Congress since August 4, 1882, four of which have been finished, but only one is to be heavily armored. Nevertheless, as the acts ordering ships likewise ordered armor and guns, the latter, when massed, made a quantity sufficient (considering also the confident hope of further building) to justify a steel company in making the necessary costly plant and contracting for our first American heavy forging for armor and guns. Previously 34 forged-steel built-up guns, ranging from 5-inch caliber to 10-inch, were nearly finished, the tubes of the heaviest having been purchased in England. These were for the *Chicago*, *Boston*, *Atlanta*, and *Dolphin*. For the ships since authorized contracts have been made for 108 similar guns, of which 24 are of 10-inch caliber and 2 of 12-inch. Two or three years at least must elapse before the latter can be finished. And at the rate at which we have been progressing for the last six years, it is not safe to prophesy when the United States would be ready to cope with even the third-rate navies of other nations.

Excepting the four new cruisers, how are our ships armed? The following is a correct table of the serviceable heavy guns of the navy, afloat and on shore:

Smooth-bores:		
20-inch caliber	3	
15-inch caliber	76	
11-inch caliber	357	
10-inch caliber, shell	12	
10-inch callber, shot	21	
9-inch caliber	1,011	
8-inch caliber, 6500 pounds	346	
32-pounders, 4500 pounds	378	
		2,204
Parrott muzzle-loading rifles:		
150-pounders	28	
100-pounders	267	
60-pounders	75	
30-pounders	375	
20-pounders	245	
Dahlgren muzzle-loading rifles, converted from 11 inch to 8 inch	50	
		1,040

Parrott breech-loading rifles:		
80-pounders	9	
60-pounders	27	
30-pounders	5	
		41
		3,285

There is not a gun in this list that any other naval power would think of putting on shipboard. The Parrott rifles were a temporary resort. They are dangerous, and should be sold as old metal. Some of the smooth-bores in their day and time, before 1860, put our then first-class ships among the best armed in the world. They, too, would be condemned to the waste-heap when compared with modern ordnance.

To these must be added 10, 8, 6, and 5 inch breech-loading, built-up, forged-steel rifles of the latest type (already referred to) for the monitors and new cruisers, as follows:

Steel breech-loading rifles:	
5-inch caliber	2
6-inch caliber	21
8-inch caliber	8
10-inch caliber	3
	34

The duty of the navy would be to watch for the enemy at sea, fight him there if possible, give notice of his position and probable intentions, and, in cases of necessity, to concentrate between him and our seaports.

What of this can our existing navy do? We have no ships that can overtake any known enemy; none that could fight him if it did catch him; none that could escape him in a race for home; and no harbor defenses that could protect our ship when it got home.

Technically, the second line of defense should be torpedo-boats. We have just bought the little yacht *Stiletto* to make a beginning with, and are contracting for another!

As an essential part of the third or inner line of land fortifications and channel obstructions, fixed electrical torpedoes are usually adopted. We have on hand a considerable number

of "cases" (hollow wrought-iron globes), but we have no electrical apparatus, no long lines of cable, no protected shelters or torpedo galleries along the shores of our harbors whence the groups of fixed torpedoes may be operated.

Of course we have no minor batteries established to cover the fields of the torpedoes or mines. All these things require time and money, quite contrary to the popular idea that torpedoes can be arranged in a few days.

We come now to the main inner line of coast-defense fortifications,—our forts and other permanent works. Between 1816 and 1826 a general system of coast fortifications was adopted. Under it we built some granite and brick forts; some with walls eight feet thick, thinning to five feet around the embrasures, and good against guns of those days. The system was excellent, and for the numbers and wealth of the people they were costly. Not one of these fortifications, formerly a matter of just national pride, is anything more than a death-trap to-day when faced by the best modern weapons. Since 1875 not one penny has been appropriated for the construction of sea-coast defenses.

General Duane, Chief of Engineers, writes me under date of May 19, 1888, as follows:

"The construction, preservation, and repair of all the permanent works of the country, including collateral works, and the lands and buildings connected therewith, are in the charge of the Corps of Engineers. The Ordnance Department has the responsibility of the care and preservation of the armament only, such as the guns, carriages, and ammunition.

"The act of February 10, 1875, gave the last appropriation for the construction of fortifications. With the exhaustion of that appropriation *all constructive work ceased.*

"The acts of 1876, 1877, 1878, 1879, and 1880 appropriated each year for the protection, preservation, and repair of fortifications and other works of defense $100,000; the acts of 1881, 1882, 1883, and 1884 gave annually $175,000, and the act of 1885 $100,000. This last was the final appropriation, and was practically exhausted by the end of the fiscal year for which it was appropriated. The *estimates* of this office for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1887, 1888, and 1889 were $175,000 each.

"The failure to obtain any appropriation in 1886 for 1887 necessitated the practical abandonment of all permanent and other defenses where there was no garrison or where an Ordnance Sergeant was not stationed. Portable property was secured as well as possible, and the fort-keepers discharged, except where they were willing to act as watchmen without pay, in consideration of quarters rent free. Neglect of any structure, however massive or well built, results in more or less rapid deterioration, and we find to-day, owing to a failure of the usual appropriations for the past two years, everything connected with our permanent defenses which is dependent upon annual appropriations for maintenance and repair going to ruin: slopes overgrown with grass and weeds and gullied by the rain; walks and roads ragged and untrimmed, and full of holes and gullies; ditches and drains filled up or fallen in, and pools of stagnant water on the parades and in the casemates; the sewers in bad order, with the consequent evils; mortar and cement falling out of the joints of the masonry for want of repointing; timber gun and ammunition platforms rotten or decayed, and permanent concrete or masonry platforms settling or out of plumb, thus disabling the proper service of the guns; casemates and quarters leaky, unhealthy, and uninhabitable; revetment walls on waterfronts falling down, and waves making serious and rapid encroachments on valuable ground, and thus impairing eligible sites for future works; and generally about the ungarrisoned forts an air and appearance of rack and ruin, and from the commanders of garrisoned works continual and urgent appeals to the Engineers to keep their own works in proper repair for the comfort of the garrison and the efficient use of the armament."

Now let us see what guns we have in our forts and arsenals:

Smooth-bores:		
20-inch caliber	2	
15-inch caliber	308	
10-inch caliber	998	
8-inch caliber	210	
		1,518
Parrott rifles:		
10-inch caliber, 300-pounders	38	
8-inch caliber, 200-pounders	81	
6.4-inch caliber, 100-pounders	173	
		292

Converted from 10-inch smooth-bores to 8-inch rifles	210
Smooth-bore mortars	45
	2,065

I ought to add one 8-inch steel rifle obtained for experimental purposes, and one rifled cast-iron mortar hooped with steel.

These are all muzzle-loaders. The nine classes require 33 kinds of ammunition. They are totally inadequate to the defense of our larger harbors, but may be utilized where only vessels of light armor and draught can enter, and even there they should be supplemented by the modern breech-loading steel rifle, with its more rapid and efficient fire.

The following memoranda sent me from the Ordnance Department in May, 1888, show the lamentable condition of that branch of the service.

ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT MEMORANDA.

"Owing to the failure of the Fortifications Bill, at both sessions of the Forty-ninth Congress, the operations of the Department in manufacturing and purchasing armament and supplies for fortifications have practically ceased. For the past two years no new contracts for guns, carriages, powders, projectiles, etc., have been made, excepting in a very small way and for experimental purposes, which were paid from the proceeds of sale of obsolete or unserviceable ordnance material. There is at present on hand a moderate supply of powder and projectiles for the 15-inch smooth-bore guns and the 8-inch converted rifles—the existing armament of our forts—and a small supply of powder for the field-service; but there is little powder for the siege-service, and very few shell, and not any shrapnel on hand for either siege or field service.

"The money available from proceeds of sales is now required for the manufacture of the field-guns and the experimental guns going on at the Watervliet Arsenal, so that the Department has no funds for the procurement of new supplies of powder and projectiles from that source. The alteration of existing sea-coast carriages to adapt them to improved powders and

guns, which was being carried on at the Watertown Arsenal, ceased two years ago by the failure of the Fortifications Bill, and the force of mechanics who had been trained to the work were discharged, and that *industry*—so to speak—destroyed, to the decided loss of the government. As a consequence, many of the 15-inch smooth-bore guns and 8-inch rifles cannot be mounted, and where these guns have been needed by the artillery for drill and target practice the Department has been unable to supply the necessary carriages. The Department has no available funds for repairing carriages in service, for mounting and dismounting guns and removing them for shipment, or for working up new types.

"The failure of the Fortifications Bill also necessitated the discharge of the force at the proving-ground, which contained men of long experience in the handling of powders and explosives, and in the special mechanical work required in connection with the testing of guns, etc. At present a detachment of enlisted men is employed at the proving-ground, but the absence of skilled mechanics is a great drawback to the proper execution of the work there. The working up of a suitable steel for projectiles, improved fuses, etc., by actual firings cannot be carried on; and the new experimental guns now under manufacture cannot be tested from lack of funds for these purposes. At a time of enforced idleness, when no large appropriations are available, the Department is even deprived of the necessary funds to work up approved types of ordnance material to have in readiness for reproduction when Congress shall make the necessary appropriations for manufacturing in quantity. The small permanent appropriation of $75,000 per annum, derived from the sales of obsolete or unserviceable ordnance material, is applied, as far as it goes, to the manufacture of experimental guns of large caliber and to small lots of field-guns for issue to the service, but it is wholly inadequate to the demands of the Department, and nothing is being done in that most important work, the construction and test of new types of carriages. A bill has been introduced in the House at the present session of Congress to cut off all permanent appropriations, and in the event of its becoming law the Depart-

ment would be deprived of even these proceeds of sales, and, without other appropriations, the work of gun construction inaugurated through strenuous efforts at Watervliet Arsenal would be stopped, and the force of mechanics specially skilled in gun work, now employed at that arsenal, would be discharged. The injury resulting to the Department from such an occurrence would amount to a calamity.

"Under the appropriations for the Ordnance Department, embodied in the Army Bill, the following items have for the past two years been inadequate, viz.:

"1st. For the purchase and manufacture of ordnance and ordnance stores to fill requisitions of troops. The amount of $75,000 appropriated for this purpose is insufficient for the supply of the army, and only such supplies as were indispensably necessary for the troops liable to be called into actual service have been procured.

"2d. For mounting and dismounting guns and for the removal of same for shipment.

"3d. For repairing ordnance stores in the hands of troops, and for issue at the arsenals and depots. For the past two years the appropriations for these purposes have been only $5000 per annum, in place of from $25,000 to $30,000 per annum during the nine preceding years.

"4th. For the overhauling, cleaning, and preserving of new ordnance stores on hand at the arsenals. The appropriation for this purpose has been only $5000 for the past two years, while for the preceding fifteen years it was never less than $20,000 annually. The appropriations to be granted for these various items should correspond with the wants of the Department, as stated in the book of estimates, as its current operations are ont he present basis of appropriations greatly crippled."

Now, let me give a table that will illustrate the vast advances made in the character and power of heavy guns:

TABLE OF MODERN HEAVY ORDNANCE.

[Prepared by Lieut. W. H. Jaques, U.S.N.]

Nation and Nature of Gun.	Date.	Caliber.	Weight of gun.	Length of gun.		Weight of charge.	Weight of projectile.	Initial velocity per second.	Muzzle energy.	Energy per ton weight of gun.	Perforation of wrought-iron at 1000 yards.
		Inches.	*Tons.*	*Feet.*	*Caliber*	*Pounds.*	*Pounds.*	*Feet.*	*Foot-tons.*	*Ft.-tons.*	*Inches.*
England:											
Armstrong, Mitchell & Co., Ld	1883	17	108	46.8	33	882	2,000	2,037	57,555	533	28.7
Do	1882	17	100	39.7	28	772	2,000	1,835	51,900	519	28.0
Do	1884	16.25	110	41.8	31	900	1,800	2,020	50,924	463	30.5
Royal Gun Factory, B. L. R	1884	13.5	63	34.7	31	625	1,250	2,050	36,415	578	38.6
Armstrong B. L. R	1885	9.2	21	23.9	31	230	320	2,179	12,840	611	19.3
Elswick Ordnance Company (wire), B. L. R	1884	9.2	18	27.6	36	200	380	2,200	12,759	709	20.0
Royal Gun Factory (wire), B. L. R	1884	9.2	19	31.2	41	330	380	2,520	16,730	881	23.2
Whitworth B. L. R	1883	9.05	20	25.5	29	197	403	1,900	10,085	504	21.3
France:											
37 centimeter, B. L. R	1884	14.56	71	34.8	29	546	1,455 1,180	2,034 1,955	31,272	441	24.5
34 centimeter,	1881	13.38	52	32.7	30	362	926	1,968	24,868	478	22.9
de Bange, 340mm, B. L. R	1885	13.38	36.9	36.3	33	397	926–1,213	2,132	.....	.....	.....
Germany:											
Krupp, 40 centimeter, B. L. R	1884	15.75	119	44.7	34	615	1,632	2,017	46,061	387	29.2
Do	1881	15.75	71	31.4	24	485	1,715	1,703	34,502	486	23.8
Krupp, 30.5 centimeter, B. L. R	1883	12	48	32	32	357	1,003	1,857	23,905	498	23.8
Italy:											
Armstrong, 45 centimeter	1880	17.42	100	32.7	22	551	2,000	1,700	40,079	401	25.3
Armstrong, 43.18 centimeter, B. L. R	1882	17	100	39.7	28	772	2,000	1,835	51,900	519	28.0
United States:											
Bureau of Naval Ordnance, B. L. R	1885	10.5	30	30.7	35	275	550	2,100	16,810	564	20.3
	1885	10	26	27.4	33	250	500	2,100	15,355	632	19.9
Do	1885	8	12.3	21.4	32	125	250	2,075	7,462	606	15
Do	1885	6	4.9	16.1	32	50	100	1,915	2,542	518	9.7
Do	1885	5	2.8	13.4	32	30	60	1,915	1,525	609	8.5

I place here directly in contrast an analogous statement of the fighting value of the guns in our forts and arsenals:

SMOOTH-BORE U. S. ORDNANCE.

Caliber.	Weight of gun.	Weight of charge.	Weight of projectile.	Initial velocity.	Muzzle energy.	Energy per ton of gun.	
	Tons.	Lbs.	Lbs.	Ft.-secs.	Ft.-tons.	Ft.-tons.	
20-inch. ...	51	250	1,080	1,560	18,219	357	Penetration is not given. Racking effect is what is sought.
15-inch.....	20	130	455	1,700	9,116	455	
10-inch.....	7	35	128	1,702	2,570	367	
8-inch.....	4	20	68	1,770	1,477	369	

8-INCH CONVERTED RIFLES.

Caliber.	Weight of gun.	Weight of charge.	Weight of projectile.	Initial velocity.	Muzzle energy.	Energy per ton of gun.	Penetration in wrought-iron at 1000 yards.
	Tons.	Lbs.	Lbs.	Ft.-secs.	Ft.-tons.	Ft.-tons.	
8-in.....	7	35	180	1,415	2,514	359	8-inch.

Our most powerful gun on land weighs 51 tons, caliber 20 inches, carries a round shot of 1080 pounds, muzzle-energy of 18.219 foot-tons. (A "foot-ton" represents the force required to raise one ton one foot.)

The heaviest English gun has a caliber of 17 inches, weighs 108 tons, throws a shot of 2000 pounds, having a muzzle-energy of 57,555 pounds.

Our 8 inch smooth-bore, weighing 4 tons, shot 68 pounds, has a muzzle-energy of 14.77 tons. Our 6-inch steel rifle, weight of gun 4.9 tons, throwing a projectile of 100 pounds, has a muzzle-energy of 2542 pounds—almost precisely that of our cast-iron smooth-bore of 10-inch caliber weighing 7 tons.

The round shot loses energy much more rapidly than the elongated steel projectile of equal weight.

THE BRITISH NAVY.

A few figures concerning the British navy will be instructive. The total number of vessels on the official list is 395; the total effective, 325. Of these, 275 are completed and 50 are building.

There are 65 heavily armored vessels. Among these are 15 battle-ships of the first class, with 14 to 24 inches of armor, and batteries of breech-loaders of 6 to 16.25 inch caliber, and batteries of muzzle-loaders of 12.5 to 16 inch caliber. There are 33 battle-ships of the second class, with 4 to 14 inches of armor batteries of 6 to 9.2 inch breech-loaders and 7 to 12.5 inch muzzle-loaders. There are 9 armored cruisers, with 7 to 10 inches of armor, and batteries of 6 to 9.2 inch breech-loaders. There are 8 coast-defense vessels with 4 to 10 inches of armor, and batteries of 9 to 12 inch muzzle-loaders. Of protected vessels, so-called, there are three classes. There are 6 cruisers of the first class, from 4000 to 9000 tons displacement, having completely protected decks covered with armor 2 to 6 inches thick, and batteries of 6 to 9.2 inch breech-loaders. There are 5 of the second-class cruisers of 4000 tons displacement, with decks completely protected, domes over the engines 2 to 4 inches thick, and batteries of 6-inch breech-loaders. Besides this class there are 22 partially protected vessels, and 37 unprotected swift cruisers of three classes, carrying guns of from 5 to 9 inch caliber, some muzzle-loaders and some breech-loaders. There are 133 gun vessels, with batteries of 4 and 5 inch breech-loaders and 64-pounder muzzle-loaders.

We have one torpedo-boat building; the English have 143 effective torpedo-boats.

There are at least 80 or 90 vessels in the British list, either one of which is more than a match for the best in our navy.

In the seventeen years ending last December the British issued to their navy 475 breech-loading rifles, made of forged built-up steel, ranging from 80-pounders to guns of 16¼-inch caliber, weighing 110 tons, and throwing a projectile of hardened steel weighing 1800 pounds, with a muzzle-energy of 51,000 foot-tons; furthermore, in the same time they issued 1332 muzzle-loading rifles ranging from 64-pounders to 16-inch guns weighing 80 tons—a total of 1807 steel guns; during which time our navy has received about 30 steel guns, the largest being two of 10-inch caliber.

There are 9 British vessels waiting for 78 heavy guns, among which are 10 of 9.2-inch caliber, and 16 of 12 and 13.5-inch cali-

ber. We have made no mention of the very large number of Hotchkiss, Nordenfeldt, and Gatling guns which these ships carry, whose projectiles range from an ounce bullet of lead to a six-pound bolt of chilled steel.

While the British navy is the largest and most powerful in the world in the number of its heavily-armored vessels and the aggregate of its great guns, it fairly illustrates the effective character of all European navies. Even Brazil, Chili, Japan, and China have more modern ships and effective guns than the United States. Chili could lay San Francisco under contribution.

OUR NORTHERN FRONTIER.

Now we propose to consider some of the exposed points on our boundaries, and the facility with which they can be reached by a hostile force. A report of the House Military Committee as long ago as 1862 said:

"The United States and Great Britain are equally prohibited by treaty stipulations from building or keeping afloat a fleet of war vessels upon the lakes. At the same time, on the shores of these lakes the United States have many wealthy cities and towns, and upon their waters an immense commerce. These are unprotected by any defenses worthy of special notice, but are as open to incursion as was Mexico when invaded by Cortez. A small fleet of light-draught, heavily-armed armored gunboats could in one month, despite of any opposition that could be made by extemporized batteries, pass up the St. Lawrence into the lakes and shell every town and city from Ogdensburg to Chicago. At one blow it could sweep our commerce from that entire chain of waters. To be able to strike a blow so effective Great Britain constructed a canal around the Falls of Niagara. By this single stroke the entire chain of lakes was opened to all British light-draught ocean vessels. Perceiving our ability to erect works upon the St. Lawrence that might command its channel, and thus neutralize all they had done, Great Britain dug a canal from the foot of Lake Ontario, on a line parallel to the river, but beyond the

Sincerely
R. B. Hayes

reach of American guns, to a point on the St. Lawrence below, beyond American jurisdiction, thus securing a channel to and from the lakes out of our reach."

The canals referred to have a navigable depth of 14 feet from Lake Ontario to Lake Erie, and of 9 feet to Ontario from below. The latter canal is intended to have a depth of 14 feet.

Official reports show that the British navy contains 102 vessels available for service in the lakes, while we are barred from keeping there more than the one innocent creature used as a sort of revenue police-boat. The British, under similar obligation, have canals by which they can send a great fleet of vessels there. Fifty-three of the list draw less than 12 feet and over 9; 8 draw over 7 feet, and 41 less than 7 feet. Two of the vessels are armored. Of the 41 vessels drawing less than 7 feet, 24 carry each a 10-inch muzzle-loading rifle. The others each carry either three or two 64-pounder muzzle-loading rifles. So this little mosquito fleet has more vessels upon the active list and carries more effective armament than our whole active navy.

ON THE WEST.

On our western coast is Victoria or Esquimault on Vancouver's Island. In 1885 it was decided to defend it, and the armament, as just stated in Parliament, is to consist of six rifles, 6 to 9 inches caliber, eighteen other pieces of various values, and six rifled machine guns.

The naval station at Victoria is 75 hours from San Francisco, calculated upon a speed of 12 knots; 10 hours from the bottom of Puget Sound, and 14 hours from the mouth of the Columbia River. Four important forts are to be constructed there. Coal is abundant. This point is of great importance to the British, as it is the western terminus of the Transcontinental Railway.

ON THE EAST.

On the east lies Halifax, the best fortified and the most important of the British naval stations bordering on the

United States. Its forts are continually improving, It is claimed that the harbor is impregnable against attack from sea. There are extensive docks, one of which, nearly finished, will be the largest in the world, and the large machine-shops are capable of undertaking any repairs. An abundant supply of coal is kept. Four torpedo-boats are there.

Bermuda is also strongly fortified. Its harbor is difficult of entrance. Its forts contain at least fifteen 11-inch cannon, besides extensive batteries of smaller caliber. Submarine defenses have been fully developed; four first-class torpedo-boats are about to be permanently placed there. A large supply of coal is always there.

The strong strategic position of Quebec is well known. It is almost impregnable.

At Bridgetown, Barbadoes, are forts mounting heavy guns and garrisoning 760 men.

In view of the completion of the Panama Canal, Port Castries, Santa Lucia, is now being put in condition to serve as a central coaling station and a rendezvous for British vessels in West India waters. Large guns and other material are being transported there; the harbor is being dredged, and coal-sheds are in process of erection.

In view of the development of the Panama Canal, it is proposed by the French to establish an additional naval and coaling station on the island of Guadaloupe.

There are Spanish stations of importance. Havana is the chief. Its harbor, by form and position rendered easy of defense, is surrounded by forts mounting many guns, some old and useless, but among them are three 22-ton Krupp and a number of 200-pounder Parrott rifles.

There are a small arsenal and some government machine-shops; a system of submarine defenses has been developed; torpedoes are on hand for planting. San Juan, Porto Rico, has fortifications out of order, but easily put in condition for defense. The same may be said of the Bay of Guantanamo about fifty miles east of Santiago de Cuba.

THE SHORT DISTANCES TO EUROPE.

There is food for reflection in the following table of times and distances. Under the name of several of our chief ports is given its distance in sea miles from the foreign ports named in the first column. In the columns of hours are given the times it would take to reach our chief Atlantic ports from the several foreign stations, at an assumed squadron speed of 12 knots an hour.

TABLE OF DISTANCES.

	Boston.		New York.		Capes Charles and Henry.		Charleston.		New Orleans.	
	Sea miles	Hours	Sea miles	Hours	Sea miles	Hours	Sea miles	Hours	Sea miles	Hours
Halifax	420	35	540	45	720	60	1,070	89	1,125	177
Bermuda	720	60	680	57	600	50	780	65	1,540	129
Bridgetown, Barbadoes	1,900	158	1,850	154	1,700	142	1,600	133	1,975	165
Kingston	1,600	133	1,400	117	1,150	96	1,000	83	1,280	107
Port Castries	1,850	154	1,800	150	1,620	135	1,530	128	1,875	156
Quebec	1,250	104	1,400	117	1,600	133	1,650	154	2,950	246
Fort de France	1,800	150	1,750	146	1,550	129	1,500	125	1,850	154
Miguelon and St. Pierre	720	60	900	75	1,100	92	1,400	117	2,400	200
Guadaloupe	1,700	142	1,650	138	1,450	121	1,440	129	1,800	150
Havana	1,450	121	1,400	100	1,000	83	600	50	600	50
Porto Rico (San Juan)	1,550	130	1,400	117	1,200	100	1,100	92	1,500	125
Guantanamo	1,450	121	1,340	112	1,100	92	860	72	1,100	92

It should be added that the strategically very important harbor of Portland, Maine, is 325 miles, or 27 hours, from Halifax; and 720 miles, or 60 hours, from Bermuda.

It will be seen that the harbor of Boston can be reached from the great naval stations at Halifax and Bermuda in 35 and 60 hours respectively; New York may be reached in 45 and 57 hours. Charleston and New Orleans are within 50 hours of Havana, etc., etc.

Captain Griffin has calculated and compiled with great care and after consulting collectors and receivers of taxes, boards of assessment, etc., etc., an interesting table of destructible property within the reach of an enterprising enemy in eight of our wealthy seaports. I give it in full. Of course the local estimates of land valuations differ considerably for different cities. In all items the full value of the land is deducted.

VALUE OF DESTRUCTIBLE PROPERTY EXPOSED TO AN ENEMY.

City.	Population by census of 1880.	Total assessed valuations for 1884. Real estate and personal property.	Value of real estate after deducting value of land.	Value of personal property after deducting non-destructible portion.	Exempt and untaxed real estate, deducting land value.	Exempt and untaxed personal and movable property.	Total value of destructible property.
Portland	33,810	$32,808,735	$15,595,725	$9,611,548	$2,590,000	$5,348,181	$33,145,454
Boston	362,839	682,648,000	195,252,280	154,517,300	36,745,543	88,955,275	471,470,398
Cambridge*	82,508	90,000,000				Estimated.	60,000,000
Newport	15,693	27,543,600	10,613,700	5,052,960	2,858,000	5,717,000	24,241,660
New York	1,206,299	1,338,298,343	746,507,731	174,829,397	199,270,545	734,695,370	1,855,303,043
Jersey City	120,722	64,494,850	38,865,211	3,757,626	24,979,108	46,102,217	113,704,162
Brooklyn	566,663	317,853,850	198,084,296	16,581,925	96,939,074	293,878,148	605,483,473
Philadelphia	847,170	583,612,683	382,485,404	7,907,662	92,527,757	306,344,568	789,265,391
Baltimore	332,313	249,651,699	76,606,445	46,508,469	27,428,570	68,571,430	219,114,914
New Orleans	216,090	160,000,000	87,600,000	14,000,000	21,865,116	52,932,000	176,397,116
San Francisco	233,959	244,987,559	47,830,975	52,130,658	23,687,000	57,343,000	180,991,633
Totals	4,318,066						$4,529,117,244

*Including Chelsea and Brookline; all exposed to a fleet in Boston Harbor.

The very able Board of Fortifications, which made its exceedingly valuable report early in 1886, declared that the ports along our sea-coast invite naval attack, and the richest ports are the most defenseless.

The Chief Engineer of the Army in his last report says that we have nothing to oppose to the entrance of hostile fleets into our chief ports except a few incomplete mines stored at four of them. I add that said mines are not planted, and could not be operated if they were, until cover should be made and electrical apparatus furnished for the operators.

It appears that in the eight harbors named there is a grand total of four and a half billion dollars' worth of destructible property without any adequate security against the vicissitudes of war. New York City pays over a million and a half annually for its fire department. The losses by fire in insured buildings have only amounted to sixty-six and a half millions in twenty-eight years, which the Board of Underwriters thinks is 90 per cent of the total loss. New York pays over six millions a year for insurance against fire, or eighteen millions every three years. The elaborate reports of our engineering and ordnance officers estimate that seventeen and a half millions would complete the entire defense of the Narrows and East River, and that the works once completed could be maintained by merely nominal annual appropriations.

Official reports show that New York has destructible property valued at $1,855,303,043. Similar statements can be made concerning the other cities named. It would make little difference to us whether Great Britain or France or Spain gave us five days or forty days' notice of the opening of war. The fleets of either nation sailing from their nearest stations could place themselves in easy command of our richest cities.

A ransom of a hundred millions levied upon New York would not be an extraordinary tax. Germany levied a thousand millions upon France.

What, then, shall be done? When the war closed we had a navy that compared well with the navies of the world; but we had ourselves given them lessons which resulted in a complete revolution in all the arts of fighting at sea. As our ships of the

war time faded away we did not replace them. In the mean time other nations built better still. We continued to renew our old store of cast-iron guns, and experimented in a half-hearted way for a series of years. Divine Providence favored us. We had no quarrel. We sought no quarrel; no one sought to quarrel with us.

Our navy is down, as we have shown, to a mere shadow—useless in a day of trouble. Nothing is done on any new system of forts and fortifications in general; for thirteen years we have not spent a dollar to continue or to reconstruct the old works. As they are they will be practically useless in a war of the kind that will come if any comes. But they can be made available to some extent by the ingenuity of our engineers.

Nor are our cast-iron guns and antiquated cast-iron or compound rifles altogether useless. Into such harbors as admit vessels of not more than twelve, fifteen, or eighteen feet no enemy's vessel is likely to come that could not be seriously injured by the old guns aforesaid. It is at the ten or fifteen largest ports that fortifications of the newest kind and of the best gun known should be first placed.

We have classed the navy as the outer line of defense—that which ought to be able to engage the enemy, or, if we are too economical for that, at least to check his advance, and to report his probable aim.

The second line is of torpedo-boats, of which we should have several at each principal port. Next in order are fixed torpedoes (or "mines") anchored below the surface in the channels, and connected with and governed by electrical batteries in safe cover on shore. Batteries of the lighter orders of guns, even down to Hotchkiss three and six pounders, or Gatlings, should be established where they could command the fields of torpedoes and protect them.

In further defense of harbors come the self-moving torpedoes of two classes, the independent travelers and those whose movements can be directed from shore. Among harbor defenses are floating batteries and our surviving monitors. Also the new pneumatic dynamite gun which throws cylinders

containing dynamite charges up to 500 pounds one or two miles. Its powers are limited, but valuable.

The functions of all these, save the latter, have been duly established and calculated for by those whose duty it is to study our defense.

We come, then, to the shore. There we shall find in future such use made as may be possible of our old defenses by covering them with sand or plating them with armor, and by sinking in pits behind them guns mounted upon disappearing carriages. We shall find also revolving turrets, in vital positions, containing 16-inch guns of more than a hundred tons weight, throwing 1800-pound chilled-steel shot, and with other turrets covering 12-inch guns. The old batteries assembled great congregations of the old cast-iron cannon to meet the 74-gun ships of old style. Our new batteries will scatter their terrible rifle-cannon of 16 and 12 and 10 and 8 inch caliber along the defended channels, either in the turrets, or under cover of steel or cast-iron in rounded turtle-back forms.

The perfected iron-clad of modern days can carry but few of the modern heavy guns, and each is to be contended with accordingly. Among the auxiliaries, however, must be the lighter 6-inch rifle with its relatively small projectile of a hundred pounds of steel. Auxiliary and still lower in the scale come Hotchkiss revolving cannon, throwing six-pound, three-pound, and two-pound steel shot.

In ably setting forth this and much more, the Fortifications Board, the ablest committee that ever considered this subject in this country, only adopted and extended the preceding reports of Admiral Simpson's Gun Foundry Board and Colonel Getty's Armament Board.

The Senate Committee on Ordnance and War-ships, appointed in July, 1884, reporting in February, 1886, after an examination of the navy yards and prominent steel manufactories of this country and the leading establishments of Great Britain, and a review of the reports above named, came to certain conclusions which to-day represent the opinion of the War and Navy Departments and the great steel-makers and ship-builders, and the skilled ordnance officers and engineers of the

United States. I cannot now state the case more concisely than by quoting the following from the report I assisted in making:

"(4) As a partial check upon private builders, and as a resource in case of necessity, some ships should be built in navy yards, the parts to be furnished by private foundries. Ships in general should be built by private contract, and private yards are capable of doing the work. The uncertain nature of repairs is such that some government yards should be kept ready to make them.

"(5) Armor plate and engines should be obtained wholly from private manufacturers.

"(6) The costly experiments of twenty-five years have reached a stage which justifies certain conclusions. Guns should be made of open-hearth steel, forged, breech-loading, chambered, of calibers ranging from 5 to 16 inches, of lengths ranging from 30 to 35 calibers. Armor and projectiles should be made of forged steel. The hydraulic forging press produces better results than the steam-hammer, costs much less, and should be used for government work. Ships should be constructed of steel, but certain minor classes may be composite, of steel and wood.

"(7) The manufacture of guns suitable for ships and coast defense should be divided between private foundries and government shops; the former providing the forged and tempered parts, and the latter finishing those parts and assembling them.

"(8) The government should establish two factories for machine-finishing and assembling guns. The weight of opinion among army and navy experts and prominent manufacturers of heavy work in steel decidedly indicates the Washington navy yard and the Watervliet Arsenal as the best sites for such factories. When the determination to contract for heavy guns shall have been reached, the localities for finishing them can easily be determined.

"(9) All needed private capital is ready for cheerful cooperation with the government in whatever it may require.

"(10) Proposals for armor and guns should require such quantities and extend over such a series of years as to justify private persons in securing the best plant. Payments should be

made only for completed work, and only the guaranteed bids of persons having capital and experience should be considered."

Nothing is lacking but the action of Congress.

As to paragraphs 4 and 5 of the committee's conclusions, it may be said that the navy is proceeding precisely upon that line. The navy yards are building some ships the heavier parts of which are furnished forged by private concerns. Other citizens are building entire ships, and engines are obtained wholly from private manufacturers. The navy has also contracted, on the plan above suggested, with the Bethlehem Steel Works of Pennsylvania for several thousand tons of armor and rough parts of heavy guns. These parts are to be finished in the Washington navy yard, where some admirable work has already been done.

The beginnings of the navy are feeble compared with our necessities. The army has been able to do next to nothing. It ought to be authorized to day to contract for ten or fifteen thousand tons of the forgings of heavy steel for the parts of steel rifles ranging from 6 to 8, 10, 12, and 16 inches caliber. Not directly authorized thereto, but under the general instruction, with a certain very limited appropriation to keep up its stores, the army has been gathering tools at Watervliet for a finishing-shop. A large appropriation is needed to put that shop in perfect order. In two or three years we could be receiving from contractors abundantly capable, abundantly ingenious, and with ample capital, forgings of the latest styles of manufacture—rough pieces, the results of liquid compression and hydraulic forging and of a quality unsurpassed, and these could be rapidly put together in steel guns, the best in the world. Nothing indeed is lacking but the will of Congress.

The neglect is astounding. I repeat that for thirteen years not a dollar has been given to reconstruct or renew our coast fortifications. Since 1885 not a dollar has been given even for their preservation—nothing to paint the old gun-carriages and guns; nothing to reset and point the tumbling brick; not a dime even to cut the grass from the slopes. The frosts and rains are reducing the once superior old forts to ruins. There is little powder, and there are few projectiles; the skilled mechanics at

the proving-grounds, men familiar with powders, explosives, and fine work in cannon, have been discharged. The four or five experimental guns under manufacture cannot be tested. In short, for thirteen years in one case and three in the other the United States Congress has absolutely refused to give a dollar to renew or maintain its defenses. There is nothing more extraordinary in the military history of the country.

It is said that in case of an emergency the genius and the valor of our people will extemporize defenses. But it would take the best of our mechanics three years to extemporize steel guns of the first class. The highest authorities deem it wise to justify some private concern in expending a million dollars for a plant to furnish the rough parts of guns, and to put nearly an equal sum in government shops for finishing the same. The government can thus best invite competition. Few firms would be willing to establish a plant of $2,000,000 to build complete guns with the experience of John Roach before them. They themselves named the conditions above quoted in paragraphs 5 and 6.

It is idle to say that we are adequate to any instant emergency. Modern defenses are the work of years; but they will last for generations at little annual cost. A 10-inch rifle throwing a 500-pound shot eleven or twelve miles can never be less than formidable.*

We are pointed to the experience of the Rebellion for an example of the rapid development of our resources. But the forces of the Union were rallied against a people who had no navy whatever, and no gun-shops worth naming. Yet it took four years to subdue the Rebellion. The episode of the *Monitor* was brilliant, but it took a hundred days to build that wonder. As against modern European navies our richest ports would within that period be five times over compelled to pay ransom.

We are told to wait for new developments. We have been waiting twenty years, until our navy consists of little more

* The 80-ton rifle's projectile will penetrate 25 feet of granite and concrete masonry, or 32 feet of the best Portland cement concrete, or 50 or 60 feet of sand.—Capt. Griffin.

than brave and skillful men, until our guns are all antiquated and our forts crumbling. The hundreds of millions it has cost Europe to experiment have been spent equally for our benefit, and by one general consent all Europe has arrived at certain conclusions that it would be the extremity of folly to reject. There may be better and cheaper clothing next year, but we must wear something to-day. There may be faster ships and railway trains five years hence, but we must travel to-day. There will be better and cheaper roofing some time, but we can not live in the rain to wait for it.

It will cost us something to build even a good defensive navy and good coast defenses. True. It was the bold and frank estimate of the Fortifications Board that a proper system of coast defense, though not a complete one, would cost $126,000,000. But that would be a smaller *per capita* cost than the system that the country was professing to perfect between 1826 and 1860. This would be $2.52 per head; that was $3.35, on the bases of the censuses of 1880 and 1884.

It is said that we intend no war, and nobody wants war with us. True; we are not a warlike but we are a military people. The surest guarantee of peace is the ability to defend ourselves. It is not only true that we cannot fight, but we cannot make manly argument. We cannot "talk back." In the face of the most grievous wrongs, our diplomatists must protest, and temporize, and explain, and procrastinate, and compromise.

We shut our eyes to history and declare that we shall never have war. From blue skies the awful War of the Rebellion thundered. Some day there may be a demand made upon us that for very shame—"for the glory of mankind to distinguish him from the brute creation"—we must abruptly and finally deny. Then the valor of ten millions of brave citizens capable of making the best army in the world will be as idle as a summer wind, and a day of humiliation may come that will be a stinging shame for a thousand years. Then if any are found who can be called responsible for our stupidities, they will call on the mountains to fall upon them. Then there will be building of guns and the launching of ships. Then there will be blazing hatred, nursed until the inevitable day of ample satisfaction; fierce and devilish rage, infinitely more demoralizing than a

brave struggle of a ready people resulting in an honorable defeat.

In 1882, when the Republicans had, for the only two years in the last twelve, the control of the House of Representatives, the first ships of what may be a new navy were ordered, and public sentiment amply justifies the still cramped and meager appropriations made annually for that purpose. Since 1882 and 1883 the conclusions already described had been reached by manufacturers and ordnance officers. Yet the Democratic House of Representatives stubbornly refuses to take the indispensable steps to national defense. In the last Congress the Republican Senate sent two simple propositions to the Democratic House of Representatives, one to invite bids for furnishing 10,000 tons of rough parts for steel guns for the army, another authorizing a similar step in behalf of the navy. The House paid no attention to either bill.

In the spring of 1886 the Senate took the meager House Fortification Bill and amended it with a perfectly reasonable proposition to build guns for land defense, and insisted upon its amendment. The contest ran through both sessions of the Forty-ninth Congress and resulted in the failure of any fortification bill whatever. The Democratic House sent no practical substitute. Whatever propositions came from the House varied widely from those adopted by impartial experts outside; and if they meant anything more than delay, the purpose was not visible. At this moment of writing, July 2, a fortification bill has not been even reported to the House. The Republican party wisely and patriotically demands, in its national platform, due regard to this great national necessity.

The leading and controlling forces of the present Democracy spent twenty-four years in criticism of all the work of the Federal Government. They have not yet learned to take up that work. They have not yet become a true party of the Nation.

We are 63,000,000, and we have countless wealth; yet we stand like Samson, blind and shorn, among the nations—blind to our destiny and our magnificent duties. In a great day of calamity we could not even have Samson's satisfaction of crushing our enemies in a common destruction.

THE AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE.

By Hon. Nelson Dingley, Jr., M. C. from Maine.

The enterprising character of the early settlers of the United States, their location on or near the sea-coast, the opportunities for sea-fishing, the abundance and cheapness of excellent timber for ship-building, and the absence of manufacturing industries and other openings outside of the farm for ambitious young men, early turned the attention of our people to maritime pursuits.

This maritime spirit was fostered by the founders of our government, incidentally as a source of material prosperity, but mainly to promote commercial independence and secure national safety. The first Congress which assembled after the adoption of the Constitution, on recommendation of Washington, and with the approval of Madison and Jefferson, enacted that only American-built vessels should be entitled to an American register or enrollment and license; that the coastwise trade should be restricted to American vessels; and that foreign vessels participating in the business of carrying our exports and imports should be subject to higher charges, and their cargoes to higher duties, than the vessels of the United States and their cargoes.

Under the influence of this protection of American vessels in both the foreign and coastwise trade our merchant marine rapidly increased, until the embargo and war of 1812 restricted its growth. In 1789, the year in which the Federal Government went into operation under the Constitution, the total tonnage of the merchant marine of the United States was only 201,562 tons, of which 123,893 tons were in the foreign trade and only 77,669 tons in the coastwise trade. In 1807 the total tonnage of our merchant marine had increased to 1,268,548 tons, of which 848,307 tons were in the foreign trade and 410,241 tons in the coastwise trade.

Between 1807 and 1840 our shipping in the foreign trade had alternate periods of decline and recovery without permanent growth, our tonnage in that trade in the latter year reaching only 899,765, or but a few tons more than in 1807. But during this period our tonnage in the coastwise trade rose to 1,285,154 tons. Up to 1840 sailing vessels almost exclusively were employed in deep-sea trade; and even in our coastwise trade steam tonnage to the extent of only 202,330 tons appeared in the returns for that year.

In the fifteen years between 1840 and 1855, culminating in the latter year, the merchant marine of the United States employed in the foreign trade had its highest prosperity—the tonnage rising each year and in 1855 reaching 2,535,136 tons, of which all but 115,045 tons were sail. The same year our coastwise tonnage was 2,676,865 tons, of which 770,285 tons were steam.

While the tonnage of our vessels in the foreign trade remained very nearly stationary in the six years between 1855 and 1861, yet relatively, in consequence of the growth of our exports and imports, it was slowly retrograding—showing that the period of decline had been entered upon. In 1855 75½ per cent of our foreign carrying trade was done by American vessels. In 1861 this percentage had fallen to 69½ per cent—a decline of 9 per cent, or 1½ per cent per annum.

The real magnitude of this decline is most clearly shown by the decadence in ship-building during this period. In 1854 there were 507 ships, barks, and brigs built in the United States for the foreign trade. In 1856 there were 409 built. In 1857 there were 309 built; in 1858 only 122; and in 1859 only 117. At no period since has the decline in ship-building for the foreign trade been so great year by year as in the six years between 1855 and 1861.

In 1861 our tonnage in the foreign trade was 2,642,628 tons, of which only 102,608 tons were steam-vessels. In the coastwise trade we had 877,204 tons of steam-vessels and 2,020,981 tons of sail—a total in our home trade of 2,897,185 tons.

During the four years of civil war the operations of the Confederate cruisers resulted, directly by capture and indirectly

by sale to avoid capture, in a loss of more than one third of our shipping in the foreign trade, our tonnage in that trade having been but 1,602,583 tons on the 30th day of June, 1865, only 98,008 tons of which were steam. As our foreign commerce, i.e., our exports and imports, were increasing, our relative loss was much greater than these figures indicate—the percentage carried in American vessels having been only 28 per cent in 1865, against 66½ per cent in 1861 and 75½ per cent in 1855.

This decline of our foreign carrying trade has continued slowly since the close of the civil war, the official statistics showing that only 14.2 per cent of our exports and imports were carried in American vessels in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1887—a decline of about three fourths of one per cent per annum. Our registered tonnage, some of which is in the coasting trade or the trade between Atlantic and Pacific ports, was 1,015,563 tons June 30, 1887, of which only 173,571 tons were steam-vessels. Our coastwise tonnage of that date was 3,090,282 tons, of which 1,542,717 tons were steam-vessels and 1,447,565 tons sailing-vessels.

Computing by the accepted rule that one ton of steam is equal in carrying power to three tons of sail, our coastwise tonnage in 1869, after it had recovered from the disturbing effect of the civil war, was the equivalent of 4,300,892 tons of sail. Notwithstanding the unexampled development of competing railroads, on June 30, 1887, we had in the coastwise trade an equivalent of 6,075,716 tons of sail—an increase of nearly 50 per cent in twenty years. It is worthy of note also that our coastwise tonnage is more than three times as large as the home fleet of Great Britain, and more than five times as large as that of any other nation.

The decline of our merchant marine in the foreign trade is a humiliating fact which has justly attracted wide-spread attention within a few years, and has caused an earnest discussion of the causes, and the remedies which should be applied to recover our position in the deep-sea carrying trade.

This topic is rarely alluded to by a free-trader in or out of Congress without the assertion that the decline is the direct result of the national protective policy of the country adopted

by the Republican party in 1861 and maintained since that period, and the additional declaration that up to 1861, when the revenue-tariff policy of the Democratic party was overthrown, our merchant marine was experiencing great and increasing prosperity.

The conclusive reply to this free-trade assumption is that the decline of our foreign carrying trade, as the official figures already given show, did not commence with the adoption of the protective tariff in 1861, but in 1855, when the Democratic revenue-tariff policy was in force; and that in the six years between 1855 and 1861—while the Democratic tariff policy is alleged to have been doing so beneficent work for our shipping interests—our foreign carrying trade and our ship-building for the foreign trade declined more rapidly than in any similar period since the war. It is noticeable, too, that the growth of our foreign carrying trade was even greater under the protective tariff of 1842 than under the revenue tariff of 1846, although it does not follow that the existence of the one tariff policy or the other had any more to do with the prosperity of our shipping in this trade in either period than did the revenue tariffs of 1846 and 1857 with its prosperity up to 1855 and its decline between 1855 and 1861.

It is not unfrequently asserted that if the revenue tariff of 1846 had not been supplanted by the protective tariff of 1861 and subsequent amendments, we should have been able to build iron steamships as cheaply as Great Britain.

This assertion has no foundation in fact, for the reason that the present tariff is as favorable as the tariff of 1846 for the construction of vessels for the foreign trade. The tariff of 1846 imposed duties on all ship-building materials and supplies. Under the present tariff all lumber, timber, hemp, manilla, iron and steel rods, bars, spikes, nails, bolts, copper and composition metals, and wire rope for the construction, equipment, and repair, and all supplies of American vessels for the foreign trade are admitted free of duty. The difference in cost of materials for an iron steamship in this country and England was as great before the war as now, so that if we had then been called upon

to build such vessels we should have had the same difficulty as at present.

It is frequently affirmed by free-trade writers and speakers that our foreign commerce, i.e., our exports and imports which furnish cargoes for vessels, has been diminished by the protective policy, and that in this way our foreign carrying trade has been crippled.

The unanswerable reply to this free-trade assumption is that our foreign commerce never increased so rapidly as it has since the war under the protective policy. In 1865, when the war closed, the value of our exports and imports was $404,774,883. In 1881 their value was $1,545,041,974—a growth of nearly 300 per cent in 16 years, and a growth far greater than that of the foreign commerce of the United Kingdom. But the increase of our exports and imports in the 16 years of revenue-tariff policy between 1846 and 1861, inclusive, was only 70 per cent.

If our shipping in the foreign trade had grown in proportion to the increase of the cargoes provided by our foreign commerce, we should have had a most magnificent fleet of vessels engaged in transporting our exports and imports. The difficulty has not been in a want of cargoes, but in the fact that foreign rather than American vessels have taken these cargoes, simply because our vessels could not successfully compete with foreign vessels, which have all been admitted to participate in the carrying of our exports and imports on equal terms with our own vessels since January 1, 1850, when the United States entered into reciprocal maritime arrangements with Great Britain.

This brings out the fact that while on the one hand our thoroughly protected merchant marine in the coastwise trade has prospered because it has not been brought into competition with foreign vessels, on the other hand our shipping in the foreign trade, which has been brought into free and open competition with foreign vessels since 1850, has been gradually driven from the ocean. In other words, protection—protection to the extent of prohibition of foreign competition—has saved our shipping in the coastwise trade, and made it the most

magnificent home fleet in the world; while free trade in the business of carrying our exports and imports has well-nigh ruined every American ship-master and ship-owner in this trade.

A more complete demonstration of the wisdom, aye, the necessity of protecting all our industries against free competition of similar foreign industries employing cheaper labor could not be had. Free trade as a theory seems very plausible on paper; free trade in its practical results may be seen by anyone who looks for the American merchant marine in the foreign carrying trade, which has been struggling against foreign competition on free-trade principles for over thirty years.

It is argued by free-traders that the mortifying result of the application of free-trade principles to our foreign carrying trade would have been averted if we had also applied these principles to the purchase of ships, and admitted foreign-built vessels to American registry free of duty. Indeed, so confident are our free-trade friends of the sufficiency of this remedy, that the sole measure which they have presented in Congress to revive American shipping since they came into control of the House of Representatives in 1875 has been a free-ship bill.

This argument proceeds on the assumption that the principal reason American vessels are not able to successfully compete with British vessels is because the construction of iron ships cost more than it does on the Clyde or Tyne, in consequence of our higher wages of labor; and hence that this disadvantage may be overcome by allowing the free importation and registry of foreign-built vessels. In other words, the free-trade plan is to sacrifice the shipbuilding industry in this country—at least as far as building vessels for the foreign trade, now or in the future, is concerned—and have our vessels built on the Clyde or Tyne in the expectation that when we have given our ship-owners foreign-built ships at foreign prices, they will be able to run these vessels in open competition with foreign vessels.

But if we cannot build our vessels as cheaply as our British competitors because our ship-carpenters receive higher wages than the same class of mechanics on the Clyde, how is it ex-

pected that we can run even a foreign-built vessel as cheaply as our British competitors, when every man from master to seaman, engineer, and coal-heaver required to sail an American vessel receives on the average 37 per cent more wages and 27 per cent better fare than similar employés on British vessels?

That these are the serious facts with which we have to deal is shown by a report of U. S. Consul Russell at Liverpool, made to the State Department last November, and published in the Consular Reports for February, 1888, from which I copy the following summary:

"British vessels in domestic ports can procure crews for from 37 to 32 per cent lower than those paid on American vessels, which is a serious item in the disbursement account. Then, again, the cost of maintenance on American ships is about 40 cents per day per man against the English 29 cents, or a difference of 27 per cent in favor of the latter. When it is considered that provisions, such as beef, pork, and flour, which are the principal articles of food consumed, can be obtained in the United States, if anything, at a lower price than in England, it seems remarkable that the crews of our vessels should cost 27 per cent more per man for maintenance; yet such appears to be the case. It is an acknowledged fact that the living on board our vessels is superior to that of other nations, and it is generally asserted that larger quantities of food are supplied to the crew, the scale of provision laid down by Congress being rarely, if ever, resorted to."

It is the almost universal testimony of practical men—ship owners, masters, and agents—who have been inquired of in this matter, that the difference in first cost between an American and British built vessel is now only ten to fifteen per cent, which is a small matter in an iron vessel that will last thirty or forty years (for we can build wooden vessels as cheaply as they can be built elsewhere), and that the real difficulty experienced in running American vessels in free competition with foreign vessels grows out of the higher wages paid officers, seamen, engineers, stokers, etc., and the better fare granted them.

The objections to the free-ship policy, therefore, are, first, that it is an inadequate remedy, and would not revive Ameri-

can shipping in the foreign trade; second, that it would have a tendency to weaken the maritime spirit which is so essential to maintain maritime enterprises, and which has its inspiration in the idea that the ship on which one sails represents the industry, the genius, and the sovereignty of one's own country; third, that no nation can be commercially independent, or even maintain its prestige on the ocean, unless it builds its own vessels; and fourth (even if all other objections were removed, and even if it were clear that free ships would accomplish all that is claimed by free-traders), that it would be suicide for the United States to deliberately adopt the policy of having its ships built abroad, for the reason, as so well stated by Jefferson, that shipyards and skilled workmen experienced in constructing vessels are as essential as forts to the safety and protection of the nation.

In considering the question as to what remedies should be applied to revive the American merchant marine in the foreign trade, it is important to have a clear understanding of the causes which have brought about its gradual decline, beginning about 1855.

These causes may be grouped under five heads:

First: The revolution in marine architecture from wood to iron and in vessel propulsion from sails to steam, by which the United States lost the advantage that she possessed in her cheap and abundant timber so long as wooden sailing-vessels controlled the ocean carrying trade, and Great Britain gained a greater advantage through her abundance of iron and coal in juxtaposition near the seashore and her cheap labor to build and run iron steamships. The cost of officering and manning a steamship is so much more than that of a sailing-vessel, that the difference of expense in running an American and a British steamer has become the most serious obstacle to be overcome in competing with British and other foreign vessels, since the revolution from sail to steam.

Second: The adoption in 1850 of the policy of admitting British as well as other foreign vessels to participate in the carrying of our exports and imports on equal terms with our own vessels, which gave free opportunity for Great Britain to

use the advantage gained by the revolution from wood to iron and sails to steam.

Third: The steady and systematic encouragement and aid given by Great Britain to British steamship lines and ship-yards by means of postal subsidies, construction grants, and government contracts, while the United States, with two or three temporary exceptions, has refused to extend any aid to American ship-yards or steamship lines. Between 1840 and 1887 the government of Great Britain expended about $250,000,000 in postal subsidies to aid in the establishment and maintenance of British steamship lines, in addition to giving liberal contracts for building government vessels to encourage the establishment and enlargement of private ship-yards. The suggestion has been made that within a few years she has been less liberal in her grants in this direction than formerly. That is true, but this has come about from the fact that prior subsidies had accomplished their purpose. But let British lines be seriously endangered by the competition of lines established by other nations, and the British Government would at once come forward with all necessary assistance.

Fourth: The civil war, which let loose the *Alabamas* that drove one third of our shipping in the foreign trade from the ocean, and gave Great Britain an opportunity to get far ahead in the race for ocean supremacy by building up great iron ship-yards and establishing her lines of steamships to all parts of the world while our hands were tied.

Fifth: The unexampled internal development of the United States in the two decades succeeding the close of the war, which engrossed the energies and capital of our people in extending our manufacturing industries, building railroads, and developing the new West, and which yielded profits that invited investments, while no profits could be reaped on the ocean in free competition with foreign ships. The investment in railroad construction in the United States in excess of a similar investment in the United Kingdom in a single year (1882) would have built two hundred of the finest ocean steamships afloat.

The situation, then, may be briefly stated as follows:

The American merchant marine in the foreign trade has been well-nigh driven from the ocean because the change from wooden sailing vessels to iron and steel steamships in ocean transportation has enabled foreign vessels employing cheaper labor, and to a large extent aided by their governments, to run at a less cost than American vessels engaged in the only business in this country open to foreign competition on free-trade principles—the only business which has experienced what free-traders describe as "the salutary neglect of the government."

If we could return to the conditions which existed when wooden sailing-vessels, requiring small crews, controlled the ocean carrying trade, we could hold our own. But we cannot. Even in the face of the revolution from wood to iron and sails to steam, and in the face of European subsidies, our vessels would hold their own if we could return to the protective legislation which imposed higher charges on foreign vessels and higher duties on their cargoes than on our own vessels and their cargoes. But it is undoubtedly impracticable to do this now that the principle of maritime reciprocity has obtained so firm a foothold. The die was cast when the United States tendered and Great Britain in 1850 accepted this rule of ocean transportation.

The only possible way now in which we can give our shipping in the foreign trade as effective protection against foreign competition as we give all other industries by tariff duties is through direct aid by government—substantially the same as Great Britain gave her merchant marine and her ship-yards before their supremacy had been established, and substantially the same as France and Italy are to-day giving their shipping by their construction and navigation bounties.

And this aid, too, can be extended, not by resorting to revenue derived from ordinary taxation, but by drawing from the revenue of twenty-eight millions of dollars derived by the United States Treasury since the war from the tax imposed on tonnage engaged in the foreign trade.

The Democratic party in Congress, with a few noteworthy exceptions, have, up to this time, taken the ground that Congress ought not to directly or indirectly aid American shipping

in the foreign trade, either by postal subsidies or by navigation or construction bounties, with the view of encouraging the construction and maintenance of American steamships and sailing-vessels for commercial purposes and for a naval reserve in time of war. At the second session of the Forty-eighth Congress, the Democratic House after a long contest concurred in an amendment appropriating $400,000 to extend more liberal pay to American steamship lines carrying American mails, —nearly all the Republicans and thirty Democrats supporting the proposition; but Postmaster-General Vilas refused to carry out the policy indicated by Congress, and the House has since refused to join the Senate in inaugurating the policy of encouraging the establishment of American steamship lines.

At the second session of the Forty-ninth Congress the House Committee on the Merchant Marine, by a vote of all the Democratic members but one, reported adversely a bill looking to the revival of the American merchant marine in the foreign trade by a navigation bounty similar to that now in force in France and Italy, and by the same vote reported the free-ship bill favorably. All the Republican members of the committee and one Democrat favored the first measure and opposed the free-ship bill. These two bills were reported in the same way, and on the same division, at the first session of the Fiftieth Congress.

On the one hand, the great body of the Democratic Congressmen take the ground that if our citizens are permitted to import and register foreign-built ships as American vessels free of duty, then the American merchant marine in the foreign trade will slowly revive. They further hold that if this result does not follow, then it will be demonstrated that foreigners can carry on the business of ocean transportation more cheaply than we can, and they should be allowed to do so without resort to government encouragement or assistance.

On the other hand, the great body of the Republican Congressmen oppose the free-ship policy as inadequate as a measure to increase our tonnage, destructive of our ship-building interests, subversive of our commercial independence, and dangerous in view of its tendency to deprive the nation of

ship-building plants as a resource for the construction of cruisers and transports in time of war. They further hold that an expenditure of a few millions of dollars annually as a navigation bounty and postal subsidy would not only be the most economical method of securing a naval reserve, guarding against national dangers and providing for national defense, but also a judicious and profitable expenditure to extend our foreign trade and build up a powerful merchant marine which in ten or fifteen years would secure such a foothold as to be able to stand alone.

History shows that no nation ever reached the highest prosperity or developed permanent influence and power, unless it possessed an effective merchant marine built in its own shipyards, and carrying its flag and its prestige to the countries of the earth. The empire of the world is on the rocking waves as well as on the rock-ribbed land.

OUR FOREIGN TRADE.

By Hon. Julius C. Burrows, M. C. from Michigan.

The Democratic party in their fierce and persistent assault upon our protective system has never hesitated to employ any weapon or device which would be of advantage to them in the attack.

To this end they constantly assert, in the face of the well-established fact to the contrary, that our protective policy, as established and maintained by the Republican party, tends to cripple, and will if persisted in ultimately destroy, our foreign trade; and that, on the contrary, the abandonment of such a policy and the adoption of free trade or a revenue tariff would greatly stimulate international traffic, and materially enhance our commercial prosperity. In controverting this assumption it must not be inferred that its refutation is deemed essential to a vindication of the wisdom of our protective policy, for even if it were true that our foreign commerce would be augmented by adopting free trade, yet it is affirmed that it would be the supremest folly to abandon a system which in its practical workings has so developed our industries and diversified our products as to render us measurably independent of foreign nations for the necessities and even the luxuries of life. No foreign trade, however opulent, could possibly compensate for the impairment or loss of our domestic commerce. If, however, upon examination it shall be found that under protection our foreign trade has had a steady and healthy growth, not only will the Democratic assumption that it has declined be refuted, but the wisdom of our protective policy will be doubly vindicated.

No more direct or complete refutation of the charge that protection cripples our foreign trade can be presented than the following table, prepared by the statistician of the Treasury Department, showing the extent of such trade, each year, since

VALUE OF MERCHANDISE IMPORTED INTO AND EXPORTED FROM THE UNITED STATES FROM 1790 TO 1821, INCLUSIVE; ALSO ANNUAL EXCESS OF IMPORTS OR OF EXPORTS—SPECIE VALUES.

YEAR ENDING—	Exports.		Total Exports.	Imports.	Total Imports and Exports.	Excess of Exports over Imports.	Excess of Imports over Exports.
	Domestic.	Foreign.					
September 30—	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*
1790	19,666,000	539,156	20,205,156	23,000,000	43,205,156	.....	2,794,844
1791	18,500,000	512,041	19,012,041	29,200,000	48,212,041	.....	10,187,959
1792	19,000,000	1,753,098	20,753,098	31,500,000	52,253,098	.....	10,746,902
1793	24,000,000	2,109,572	26,109,572	31,100,000	57,209,572	.....	4,990,428
1794	26,500,000	6,526,233	33,026,233	34,600,000	67,126,233	.....	1,573,767
1795	39,500,000	8,489,472	47,989,472	69,756,268	117,745,740	.....	21,766,796
1796	40,764,097	26,300,000	67,064,097	81,436,164	148,500,261	.....	14,372,067
1797	29,850,206	27,000,000	56,850,206	75,379,406	132,229,612	.....	18,529,200
1798	28,527,097	33,000,000	61,527,097	68,551,700	130,078,797	.....	7,024,603
1799	33,142,522	45,523,000	78,665,522	79,069,148	157,734,670	.....	403,626
1800	31,840,903	39,130,877	70,971,780	91,252,768	162,224,548	.....	20,280,088
1801	47,473,204	46,642,721	94,115,925	111,363,511	205,479,436	.....	17,247,586
1802	36,708,189	35,774,971	72,483,160	76,333,333	148,816,493	.....	3,850,173
1803	42,205,961	13,594,072	55,800,033	64,666,666	120,466,699	.....	8,866,633
1804	41,467,477	36,231,597	77,699,074	85,000,000	162,699,074	.....	7,300,926
1805	42,387,002	53,179,019	95,566,021	120,600,000	216,166,021	.....	25,033,979
1806	41,253,727	60,283,236	101,536,963	129,410,000	230,946,963	.....	27,873,036
1807	48,699,592	59,643,558	108,343,150	138,500,000	246,843,150	.....	30,156,850
1808	9,433,546	12,997,414	22,430,960	56,990,000	79,420,960	.....	34,559,040
1809	31,405,702	20,797,531	52,203,233	59,400,000	111,603,233	.....	7,196,767
1810	42,366,675	24,391,295	66,757,970	85,400,000	152,157,970	.....	18,642,030
1811	45,294,043	16,022,790	61,316,833	53,400,000	114,716,833	7,916,833	.....
1812	30,032,109	8,495,127	38,527,236	77,030,000	115,557,236	.....	38,502,764
1813	25,008,152	2,847,845	27,855,997	22,005,000	49,860,997	5,850,997	.....
1814	6,782,272	145,169	6,927,441	12,965,000	19,892,441	.....	6,037,559
1815	45,974,403	6,583,350	52,557,753	113,041,274	165,599,027	.....	60,483,521
1816	64,781,896	17,138,556	81,920,452	147,103,000	229,023,452	.....	65,182,548
1817	68,313,500	19,358,069	87,671,569	99,250,000	186,921,569	.....	11,578,431
1818	73,854,437	19,426,696	93,281,133	121,750,000	215,031,133	.....	28,468,867
1819	50,976,838	19,165,683	70,142,521	87,125,000	157,267,521	.....	16,982,479
1820	51,683,640	18,008,029	69,691,669	74,450,000	144,141,669	.....	4,758,334
1821	54,520,835	10,824,429	65,345,264	54,520,835	119,866,099	10,824,429	.....

The years 1790 to 1820, inclusive, include specie.

VALUE OF MERCHANDISE IMPORTED INTO AND EXPORTED FROM THE UNITED STATES FROM 1822 TO 1852, INCLUSIVE; ALSO ANNUAL EXCESS OF IMPORTS OR OF EXPORTS—SPECIE VALUES.

YEAR ENDING—	Exports.		Total Exports.	Imports.	Total Imports and Exports.	Excess of Exports over Imports.	Excess of Imports over Exports.
	Domestic.	Foreign.					
September 30—	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*
1822	79,871,695	11,476,022	91,347,717	79,871,695	171,219,412	11,476,022	.....
1823	72,481,371	21,170,635	93,652,006	72,481,371	166,133,377	21,170,635	.....
1824	72,170,037	18,322,605	90,492,642	72,170,037	162,662,679	18,322,605	.....
1825	90,189,310	23,793,588	113 982,898	90,189,310	204,172,208	23,793,588	.....
1826	78,093,511	20,440,934	98,534,445	78,093,511	176,627,956	20,440,934	.....
1827	71,332,938	16,431,830	87,764,768	71,332,938	159,097,706	16,431,830	.....
1828	81,020,083	14,044,578	95,064,661	81,020,083	176,084,744	14,044,575	.....
1829	67,088,915	12,347,344	79,436,259	67,088,915	146,525,174	12,347,344	.....
1830	62,720,956	13,145,857	75,866,813	62,720,956	138,587,769	13,145,857	.....
1831	95,885,179	13,077,069	108,962,248	95,885,179	204,847,427	13,077,069	.....
1832	95,121,762	19,794,074	114,915,836	95,121,762	210,037,598	19,794,074	.....
1833	101,047,943	17,577,876	118,625,819	101,047,943	219,673,762	17,577,876	.....
1834	108,609,700	21,636,553	130,246,253	108,609,700	238,853,953	21,636,553	.....
1835	136,764,295	14,756,321	151,520,616	136,764,295	288,284,911	14,756,321	.....
1836	176,579,154	17,767,762	194,346,916	176,579,154	370,926,070	17,777,762	.....
1837	94,280,895	17,162,232	111,443,127	130,472,803	211,915,930	.....	19,029,676
1838	95,560,880	9,417,690	104,978,570	95,970,288	200,948,858	9,008,282	.....
1839	101,625,533	10,626,140	112,251,673	156,496,956	268,748,629	.....	44,245,283
1840	111,660,561	12,008,371	123,668,932	98,258,706	221,927,638	25,410,226	.....
1841	103,636,236	8,181,235	111,817,471	122,957,544	234,775,015	.....	11,140,073
1842	91,799,242	8,078,753	99,877,995	96,075,071	195,953,066	3,802,924	.....
June 30—							
1843[a]	77,686,354	5,139,335	82,825,689	42,443,464	125,259,153	40,392,225	.....
1844	99,531,774	6,214,058	105,745,832	102,604,606	208,350,438	3,141,226	.....
1845	98,455,330	7,584,781	106,040,111	113,184,322	219,224,433	.....	7,144,211
1846	101,718,042	7,865,206	109,583,248	117,914,065	227,497,313	.....	8,330,817
1847	150,574,844	6,166,754	156,741,598	122,424,349	279,165,047	34,317,249	.....
1848	130,203,709	7,986,806	138,190,515	148,638,644	286,829,159	.....	10,448,129
1849	131,710,081	8,641,091	140,351,172	141,206,199	281,557,371	.....	855,027
1850	134,900,233	9,475,493	144,375,726	173,509,526	317,885,252	.....	20,133,800
1851	178,620,138	10,295,121	188,915,259	210,771,429	399,686,688	.....	21,856,170
1852	154,931,147	12,053,084	166,984,231	207,440,398	374,424,629	.....	40,456,167

a Nine months.

VALUE OF MERCHANDISE IMPORTED INTO AND EXPORTED FROM THE UNITED STATES FROM 1853 TO 1887, INCLUSIVE; ALSO ANNUAL EXCESS OF IMPORTS OR OF EXPORTS—SPECIE VALUES.

YEAR ENDING—	Exports.		Total Exports.	Imports.	Total Imports and Exports.	Excess of Exports over Imports.	Excess of Imports over Exports.
	Domestic.	Foreign.					
June 30—	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*
1853	180,869,162	13,620,120	203,489,282	263,777,265	467,266,547	.....	60,287,983
1854	215,328,300	21,631,260	236,959,560	297,623,039	534,582,599	.....	60,663,479
8855	192,751,135	26,158,368	218,909,503	257,808,708	476,718,211	.....	38,899,205
1856	266,438,051	14,781,372	281,219,423	310,432,310	591,651,733	.....	29,212,887
1857	278,906,713	14,917,047	293,823,760	348,428,342	642,252,102	.....	54,604,582
1858	251,351,033	20,660,241	272,011,274	263,338,654	535,349,928	8,672,620	.....
1859	278,392,080	14,509,971	292,902,051	331,333,341	624,235,392	.....	38,431,290
1860	316,242,423	17,333,634	333,576,057	353,616,119	687,192,176	.....	20,040,062
1861	204,899,616	14,654,217	219,553,833	289,310,542	508,864,375	.....	69,756,709
1862	179,644,024	11,025,477	190,670,501	189,356,667	380,027,178	1,313,824	.....
1663	186,003,912	17,960,535	203,964,447	243,335,815	447,300,262	.....	39,371,368
1864	143,504,027	15,333,961	158,837,988	316,447,283	475,285,271	.....	157,609,295
1865	136,940,248	29,089,055	166,029,303	238,745,580	404 774,883	.....	72,716,277
1866	337,518,102	11,341,420	348,859,522	434,812,066	783,671,588	.....	85,952,544
1867	279,786,809	14,719,332	294,506,141	395,761,096	690,267,237	.....	101,254,955
1868	269,389,000	12,562,999	281,952,899	357,436,440	639,389,339	.....	75,483,541
1879	275,166,697	10,951,000	286,117,697	417,506,379	703,624,076	.....	131,388,082
1870	376,616,473	16,155,295	392,771,768	435,958,408	828,730,176	.....	43,186,640
1871	428,398,908	14,421,270	442,820,178	520,223,684	963,043,862	.....	77,403,506
1872	428,487,131	15,690,455	444,177,586	626,595,077	1,070,772,603	.....	182,417,491
1873	505,033,439	17,446,483	522,479,922	642,137,210	1,164,616,132	.....	119,656,288
1874	569,433,421	16,84 .619	586,28 .040	567,406,342	1,153,080,382	18,876,698	.....
1875	499,284,100	14,158,611	513,442,711	533,005,436	1,046,448,147	.....	19,562,725
1876	525,582,247	14,802,424	540,384 671	400,741,190	1,001,125,861	79,643,481	.....
1877	589,670,224	12,804,996	602,475,220	451,323,126	1,053,798,346	151,152,094	.....
1878	680,709,268	14,156,498	694,865,766	437,051,522	1,131,917,298	257,814,234	.....
1879	698,310,790	12,098,651	710.4 ,441	445,777,775	1,156,217,216	264,661,666	.....
1880	823,946,353	11,692,305	835,638,658	607,054,746	1,503,593,404	167,683,912	.....
1881	883,925,947	18,451,309	902,377,346	642,664,628	1,545,041,074	259,712,718	.....
1882	733,239,732	17,302,525	750,542,257	724,639,574	1,475,181,831	25,902,683	.....
1883	804,223,632	19,615,770	823,839,402	723,180,914	1,547,020,316	100,658,488	.....
1884	724,964,852	15,548,757	740,513,609	667,697,693	1,408,211,302	72,815,916	.....
1885	726,682,946	15,506,809	742,189,755	577,527,329	1,319,717,084	164,662,426	.....
1886	665,964,529	13,560,301	679,524,830	635,430,136	1,314,960,966	44,088,694	.....
1887	703,022,923	13,160,288	716,183,211	692,319,768	1,408,502,979	23,863,443	.....

the foundation of the government, covering, therefore, the eras both of protection and free trade. We have but to contrast the one period with the other, in the light of this official exhibit, to discover how utterly groundless the charge that protection restricts and revenue tariff promotes foreign commerce.

From this table it will be observed that in 1861, at the close of the last period of a revenue tariff which began in 1846, our total exports were only valued at $219,553,833, while our imports amounted to $289,310,542, aggregating a total foreign trade of only $508,864,375; while in 1887, under continuous protection since 1861, our exports increased to $716,183,211, and imports to $692,319,768, swelling our foreign commerce in 1887 to the enormous value of $1,408,502,979—an increase of nearly 200 per cent.

From the close of our civil war in 1865 to 1881 our foreign commerce increased from $404,744,883 to $1,545,041,974—a growth in 16 years of nearly 300 per cent; while the increase in the 16 years of a revenue tariff was from $227,497,313 in 1846 to $508,864,375 in 1861—less than 125 per cent. In this connection it would be well to call attention to the fact that while our foreign trade increased nearly 300 per cent from 1865 to 1881, yet the foreign commerce of free-trade England only advanced from $2,384,117,140 to $3,377,863,266—an average of but 50 per cent. In a decade of a revenue tariff from 1851 to 1861 our annual imports per capita averaged only $10.73, and our exports but $9.94, aggregating an annual foreign trade per capita of $20.67; while during a decade of protection, from 1871 to 1881, our annual imports averaged $13.50, and our exports $14.93 making an average foreign trade per capita of $28.43. In a recent speech in the House of Representatives Mr. Dingley of Maine, speaking upon this point, said:

"There is no basis for the oft-repeated assertion that the protective tariffs of the United States since 1861 have restricted the export trade of the United States, which, it is assumed, the revenue tariffs in force from 1846 to 1861 had specially fostered.

"According to the official statement of Mr. Evans, of the Treasury Department, our exports increased only 16¼ per cent

in the revenue-tariff decade between 1851 and 1861, or 60 per cent if the years 1850 and 1860 are compared; while in the protective decades between 1861 and 1871 our exports increased 146 per cent, and between 1871 and 1881 increased 59¾ per cent. Our total experts in the decade ending with 1860 were eight hundred and fourteen and one half millions; in the decade ending with 1880 they were fifty-one hundred and twelve millions."

It is worthy of note, furthermore, in connection with the foregoing table, that during the periods of a revenue tariff the balance of trade was almost invariably against us, while the periods of protection have usually been attended with a balance of trade in our favor.

It will be observed that previous to the tariff of 1824, covering a period of 35 years of inadequate protection, there were but five years in which the balance of trade was not against us; while in the succeeding period of protection, from 1824 to 1832, there was not a single year in which the balance of trade was not in our favor. In four years after the adoption of the revenue tariff of 1833, the balance of trade was again adverse; and from 1837 to 1846, in spite of the beneficial influence of the tariff of 1842, the aggregate of our imports was in excess of our exports by several millions. Then came the revenue tariffs of 1846 and 1857, and from 1848 to 1861 inclusive, there was but a single year in which the balance of trade was not heavily against us. During the thirteen years of a revenue tariff, immediately preceding 1861, there was but one year when the balance of trade was in our favor; while in the last thirteen years under protection, there has been but a single year when the balance of trade was against us. But further comment is unnecessary. The simple presentation of our trade statistics for the century is sufficient answer to the assumption that protection retards and free-trade promotes our foreign commerce.

But touching generally the question of our foreign commerce, there is no more effective way of promoting it than by the establishment of regular and speedy postal communication with other nations. Without this, commerce is impossible. We cannot expect to trade with a people until mail facilities

have been established. Sherman Crawford, a great English statesman, speaking of the importance of such connection, said: "Wherever postal communication has been extended there commerce has invariably been attracted. In fact the conveyance of the mails has proved a most efficient agency for increasing our trade in all parts of the world. I for one hold that there are considerations to be taken into account in this matter which are wholly apart from the question of the profit and loss arising upon the accounts of the Post-office. This difference is not considerable; but whatever it is, that difference represents the whole cost to this country of the means by which not only the commercial but the social and political connection between this country and the world is kept up."

Again, Sir Charles Wood wrote to the Secretary of the Post-office in October, 1867, as follows:

"It has been the perception of the bearing of increased postal communication on the wealth and progress of the country that has induced statesmen of late years to consent to fiscal sacrifices for the purpose of obtaining it. There can be no doubt that increased postal communication implies increased relations, increased commerce, investment to English capital; and from all these sources the prosperity of England is greatly increased."

Appreciating this necessity, the leading nations of Europe establish and maintain, by means of liberal subsidies, postal communication with all those countries with which they have trade relations. There is scarcely a commercial nation on the face of the globe, save the United States, that does not pay a liberal subsidy for carrying its foreign mails, amounting in the aggregate to many millions annually. The following are the subsidies paid by some of the leading commercial nations:

France	$5,152,388
Great Britain	4,500,000
Germany	1,600,000
Italy	1,600,000
Austria	1,000,000
Belgium	1,000,000
Spain	1,000,000
Brazil	2,223,000

Holland	400,000
Hungary	400,000
The Netherlands	100,000
British India	550,000

The United States, for its entire foreign mail service last year, paid only a trifle over $400,000, and seven eighths of that we generously donated to foreign lines. While other nations by means of liberal compensation for the carriage of their mails are pushing their commerce into every part of the habitable globe, we, by refusing to pay more than the postage on the mail carried, are not only driving our mails from American bottoms, but our flag from the seas.

While foreign nations are thus generously sustaining their mail-steamship lines, we have restricted our postal authorities to the payment of only the sea and inland postage on the mails carried. Thus the postage on a letter from the United States to the Argentine Republic, or to any of the countries of South America, is five cents, the domestic being two cents, and the sea postage three cents; so that under this limitation the Postmaster-General can pay only five cents for carrying a letter to these or any foreign country by an American steamship, whatever the distance or whatever the advantage of the service. How is it possible, therefore, for an American line, receiving only the sea and inland postage on the mails carried, to compete for the ocean commerce with the heavily subsidized lines of foreign nations? We protect our factory on the land, but leave the American steamship to contend, unaided, with the merciless competition of foreign rivals.

The practical result of this policy of restricting the compensation for carrying our foreign mails to the sea and inland postage has driven the carriage of our mails to foreign bottoms, so that our entire trans-Atlantic mail-service is to-day performed by foreign lines, for which we paid last year the sum of $314,380; while our trans-Pacific mails, for which we paid last year the sum of $38,465, were carried by foreign lines except that carried by the Pacific Mail line, to which we paid only the sum of $9651; thereby putting $343,104 into the pockets of the foreign shipowners. We have refused even to aid in establishing postal

communications by American steamships with the countries of Central and South America, and the result is that except in the ports of Venezuela and Brazil, the American flag is seldom seen. For years the Argentine Republic offered to contribute annually $100,000 to establish a mail-steamship line between her ports and the United States, if we would donate a like amount, but we persistently refused. As the result of this policy we have substantially lost the trade of Central and South America, aggregating an amount of more than $850,000,000 annually. Of this trade the United States has but $150,000,000. It is humiliating to the last degree that we permit foreign nations to carry off a trade lying at our very doors.

Mr. Polk, speaking of this subject in the American Congress, said: "It is strange, sir, that men who are presumed to embody the wisdom of the land should have to be reminded that they are pandering to British power, that they are forgetting American interests, and losing sight of that greatness and grandeur that belongs to this American government. I stand upon the floor of the American Congress, and find men who are willing to measure our greatness by the circumference of a dollar, measure American prosperity, American greatness, by a round dollar, and thus pander to British interests; to bow the pliant knee, and say to the power that assailed us at Lexington, that flashed the first guns from Bunker Hill, that fought us upon the sea and land in 1812, that has been jealous of our prosperity and greatness ever since, 'Good mother, wont you carry our mails for us?' Why, sir, I scorn, I despise this un-American feeling and sentiment. The men who stand battling upon these principles are behind the age. They are behind the progress of this country. They know nothing of its power, and are contributing to a combination of foreign policy designed to overslaugh us."

The effect of this policy can be best shown by one or two examples. Take the empire of Brazil, with which we have but a single American steamship line. Her annual imports are $90,000,000. In 1883 she bought of Great Britain more than $15,000,000 worth of cotton goods, and in the same year of the United States but a little over $600,000. Is there any reason

why we with our great cotton-fields and with a line open from our ports to the ports of this empire should not supply her people with the fabrics of our looms? The same year she bought of Great Britain 92,000 hats and caps, of the United States 119. Great Britain sold her of iron and steel in 1883 $5,674,000, while the United States sold her but a trifle over $1,000,000. Of her wearing apparel Great Britain furnished her $1,250,000 worth, the United States but $17,000. To summarize the matter, in the last twenty years Great Britain has sold to the inhabitants of Brazil $630,000,000 of manufactured products, while the United States has sold her but $138,000,000.

Why is it that we have so little of this Brazilian trade? Simply because we have no adequate communication with her people. We have but one steamship line of three vessels making monthly trips between New York and the ports of this empire, while at the same time there are three English lines having 35 steamers, French lines with 19 steamers, German lines with 15 steamers aggregating 89 vessels from these three countries holding regular direct communication with this empire. All these lines are paid liberal compensation for carrying the mails, Brazil herself paying a million dollars to aid in the establishment and maintenance of these postal and commercial relations, while we pay the American line only the postage collected on the mail carried.

How is it with the Argentine Republic, a republic fashioned after our own, with a president, two houses of congress, and all the machinery of government modeled after this great republic. It has a population of 3,000,000 people. Its capital city has a population of 500,000, 40,000 of whom are English-speaking. In 1884 this republic purchased $94,000,000 worth of manufactured products. Of this sum Great Britain sold her $30,000,000; France, $17,000,000; Germany, $9,000,000; Belium, $7,250,000; the United States, $7,500,000; Spain, $5,000,000; Italy, $4,000,000; the United States furnishing only a trifle over 8 per cent of all her imports. In 1883 England sold her in cotton goods alone $9,000,000 in value, while the United States sold her only $150,000. How do we account for this paucity of trade with the Argentine Republic? The an-

swer is plain. We have no postal communication with this people. In 1884 there arrived at the harbor of Buenos Ayres 3626 steamships, not one of them carrying the American flag. The same year 3775 sailing vessels anchored in that harbor, and to-day 200 splendid steamers are plying between Buenos Ayres and European ports. Of this total shipping 34 per cent is under the British flag; 16 per cent under the French; 9 per cent under the German; 24 per cent under other nations, and this country has the miserable representation of 2 per cent only of the sailing-vessels. In 1862 there was no direct line of steamers between Europe and the Argentine Republic. These lines have all been established since that date through the instrumentality of liberal subsidies.

The last Republican administration sought to remedy this national folly, and for that purpose authorized the President of the United States to appoint a commission to visit the countries of Central and South America and report what steps were necessary to increase our commercial intercourse with these nations. That commission was appointed by President Arthur, completed its work, and made its report, in which among other things it said, "That in order to secure more intimate commercial relations between the United States and the several countries of Central and South America there must be regular and direct steamship communication." The commission further say, "In order to encourage the construction of vessels, in order to secure means of communication between the United States and the markets of Central and South America, it has been suggested that Congress authorize the Postmaster-General to advertise for proposals for carrying the mails to and from the ports of Central and South America for a period of ten years, and make contracts for that period with the lowest responsible bidder under restrictions which will guarantee as low charges per mile for freight and passengers as are paid to foreign vessels in order that the merchants of the United States seeking the South American trade may enjoy the advantage of nearness as an offset to the higher rate of wages paid for labor in this country." Acting upon the report and recommendation of this commission, the Republican party clothed the Post-

master-General with power to contract for a South American mail service upon a more liberal basis than the sea and inland postage, by providing as follows:

"For the transportation of foreign mails, including transit across the Isthmus of Panama, $800,000; and the Postmaster-General is hereby authorized to enter into contract for the transportation of any part of said foreign mails, after a legal advertisement, with the lowest responsible bidder at a rate not exceeding 50 cents a nautical mile on the trip each way actually traveled between the terminal points: *Provided*, That the mails so contracted shall be carried on American steamships, and that the aggregate of such contracts shall not exceed one-half the sum hereby appropriated."

The enforcement of this law would have increased our postal facilities with the South American countries, and brought to us an enlarged commerce, and furnished an easy outlet for the surplus products of our ever-increasing manufactures. But before this law was put into operation the Republican party went out of power. The present administration declined to execute this law, and refused to use a single dollar appropriated by the last Republican administration to encourage our trade with the South American countries.

In the Forty-ninth Congress the Republican Senate attached to the post-office appropriation bill a provision dedicating $800,000 to increasing our mail facilities with the countries of Central and South America, but the Democratic House of Representatives refuse to concur.

And so upon this question the issue is made up between the two parties. The Republican party believes in such liberal pay to American steamship lines for the carriage of our foreign mails as will stimulate American ship-building and promote our foreign commerce. While the Democratic party refuses all aid to American lines even for carrying the United States mails, preferring to pay tribute to our subsidized foreign rivals. It is to be hoped when the Republican party again resumes control of this government it will be able to carry out a policy which will facilitate our foreign trade and restore the Republic to its rightful supremacy on the sea.

INTERNAL REVENUE.

By Hon. Green B. Raum, of Illinois.

The total income of the government during the four years of President Buchanan's administration, aside from loans, was $205,126,374, while the expenditures for the same period were $262,500,558, being $57,374,184 in excess of the receipts.

The Morrill tariff act, which was approved by Mr. Buchanan the day before the inauguration of President Lincoln, greatly increased the duties on imports, and laid the foundation for the large receipts which afterwards followed from this source; but as soon as the War of the Rebellion began it was fully realized by Republican statesmen that the preservation of the Union would require not only marshaling of mighty armies, but the expenditure of enormous sums of treasure.

The Session of Congress which convened in December, 1861, immediately took up the subject of providing the Ways and Means for carrying on the war. It was fortunate for the country that the right man for this mighty work was then a member of the House of Representatives, and was appointed Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means. This man was Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania. He possessed the knowledge, experience, influence, and courage for the task.

At the very outset Mr. Stevens insisted that taxation and loans must go hand in hand; that it would be impossible to carry on the war and maintain the credit of the government by raising money by loans only; that the receipts from customs would be totally inadequate to supply the needs of the government; consequently, that resort must be had immediately to direct and internal taxation.

An act was passed June 7th, 1862, levying a direct tax of twenty million dollars, which, under the Constitution, was apportioned amongst the several States according to population. The amount levied against the people of the loyal States was

$15,054,517, and the amount levied against the people of the States in rebellion was $4,945,501. The law provided that this tax should be levied and collected from the real estate of the country. The legislatures of the loyal States wisely made provision for the payment of this tax from the State treasuries. If this course had not been adopted the tax would have been assessed upon all the real estate of the country; it would have taken precedence of and interfered with the State levies; and would no doubt have bred a multiplicity of complications in real-estate titles. This direct tax was enforced in parts of all the rebellious States. The total amount collected in these States was $2,414,284; and there yet remains uncollected of the tax in the the Southern States the sum of $2,531,217—the collection of which has been postponed from time to time. A bill recently passed the Senate of the United States which relieves the people of Southern States from the payment of the amount of this tax due from them, and refunding to the States the amount paid by each of them respectively. The passage of this bill was prevented by the systematic filibustering of a large number of Democrats from the South, who obstructed business for a period of eight days, and finally compelled the House to postpone the consideration of the bill until the next session of Congress.

It seems entirely reasonable that the amount paid by the loyal States shall be refunded, or that the balance due from the Southern States shall be collected. The opponents of the Senate bill are opposed to both propositions.

The delays and difficulties attending the collection of a direct tax from real estate are such, that it seems entirely improbable that another direct tax law will ever be enacted.

On July 1, 1862, an act to provide internal revenue to support the government and to pay interest on the public debt was passed. It was the first of the series of laws creating the present internal-revenue system. This act was followed by the acts of March 3, 1863; March 7, 1864; June 30, 1864; and March 3, 1865.

There probably never was in any country a more far-reaching system of taxation devised—every occupation, business, or

industry, every source of income, every article owned and used for luxurious enjoyment; all railroads, canals, steamboats, express companies; all banks, bankers, brokers, manufacturers jobbers, merchants; all wholesale and retail dealers, and all places of amusement and public entertainment, were required to contribute their share to the great fund necessary to save the Union. Thousands of manufactured articles which entered into the daily consumption of the people were taxed. Here and there the law provided for small exemptions in the interest of the poor; but the whole plan and framework of the system contemplated raising a large revenue from every individual in the land by a tax upon him directly or upon articles which he required for daily use. The men who planned and enacted these laws were elected by the people, and represented the public sentiment of the country; the era was one of patriotism and heroism, and this extraordinary system of taxation was not only acquiesced in, but indorsed by the people, and the payment yearly of the enormous sums of revenue which were collected is one of the strongest possible evidences of the devotion of the people to the cause of the Union.

The receipts from internal-revenue taxation rose from forty one million dollars in 1863, to more than three hundred and ten million dollars in 1866. The following table will be of interest:

INTERNAL REVENUE COLLECTIONS, JULY 1ST, 1862, TO JUNE 30TH, 1887.

Total from distilled spirits, including special taxes of dealers in the same	1,258,570,743
Total from tobacco and cigars	747,981,410
Total from fermented liquors	257,946,098
Bank circulation (other than National)	5,518,066
Penalties and forfeitures	11,992,904
Manufactures and products	425,944,100
Gross receipts	55,924,678
Sales	37,588,907
Special taxes not included above	85,437,647
Incomes	346,967,388
Legacies	8,883,969
Successions	5,911,679
Special taxes from occupations	8,964,869

Bank capital and deposits	65,056,539
Adhesive stamps upon proprietary medicines, matches, etc.	209,717,217
Miscellaneous items	36,064,456
Oleomargarine and special taxes on dealers therein	723,948
	$3,569,174,618
From the direct tax	15,139,981
From the National banks on capital, circulation, and deposits	132,592,753
Total	$3,716,907,352

Thus it will be seen that the receipts of revenue from these laws, called into being by the exigencies of the Civil War, have been during a period of twenty-five years more than three billion seven hundred million dollars, and that $2,264,498,241 were collected from distilled spirits, tobacco and cigars, and malt liquors—articles of indulgence, the purchase of which (and therefore the payment of the tax) might have been avoided at the pleasure of the tax-payer.

While it is true that in 1791, and again in 1813, laws were enacted levying internal taxes upon distilled spirits, carriages, snuff, refined sugars, salt, auction sales, distilleries, licenses for retailing wines and spirits, bills of exchange, bank notes, promissory notes, etc., etc., the taxes were low and the amount of revenue received was small, and but few officers were employed; and the laws were continued only a few years. So in point of fact this broad and comprehensive system of taxation was new and untried. Its extraordinary success has vindicated the wisdom and the capacity of the Republican law-makers who placed these acts upon the statute-books. This new system of taxation was in many respects experimental, both as to the laws and the manner of their enforcement. As an illustration of this, it may be cited that the tax on distilled spirits was first fixed at 20 cents per gallon, and was afterwards changed to 60 cents, $1.50, $2; from which it has been reduced to 90 cents per gallon, at which it now stands.

The internal-revenue system was made a special study, and it is to the credit of the Republican party that it was brought to the highest degree of perfection and efficiency. During the nine years preceding the inauguration of President Cleveland,

more than eleven hundred millions of internal revenue were collected without the loss of one dollar by the defalcation of an internal-revenue officer, and about fifty million dollars were disbursed for salaries and expenses in connection with this service without loss by defalcation. Such a record is extraordinary and exceptional in the history of any revenue service, and fully certifies to the integrity and efficiency of the corps of internal-revenue officers.

This state of efficiency was not accidental, but was the result of most careful and painstaking training of the official force. Periodically every officer in the service was examined as to his knowledge and efficiency, and fully instructed by competent agents. The accounts of the collectors were subjected to quarterly examinations, and their correctness verified by a c oun of the money and stamps on hand, and a high standard of excellence was insisted upon in connection with all clerical work. As a consequence the business of the government was conducted in the most methodical manner, and in a style equal if not superior to that of the best private business houses. The Democratic cry of "Turn the rascals out" did not apply to the internal-revenue service. The official force was honest, capable, and faithful; and while the collectors and most of their subordinates have been removed, it was because they were Republicans, and not because they were wanting in any of the requirements which go to make up an efficient and trustworthy public service.

As soon as the war was over Congress took up the question of reducing internal taxes, and a number of acts were passed from time to time repealing and reducing taxes, those which were most objectionable and burdensome being taken off first.

These repealing and reducing acts bear date July 13, 1866; March 2, 1867; February 3, 1868; March 31, 1868; July 20, 1868; July 14, 1870; and June 6, 1872. By these acts reductions were made (taking as a basis the highest amount collected from each source) as follows:

INTERNAL-REVENUE REDUCTIONS.

Manufactures and products		$133,579,109
Gross receipts		11,262,430
Sales		8,837,395
Special taxes, not including spirits and tobacco		14,144,418
Incomes		72,982,159
Legacies and successions		3,091,825
Articles of luxury kept for use—i.e., pianos, yachts, etc.		2,116,674
Slaughtered animals		1,291,571
Passports		31,149
Reduction of stamp tax on notes, etc.		366,722
Reduction tax on tobacco		5,646,941
Reduction on stamp taxes		10,040,476
Reduction on borrowed capital of banks and certain deposits		873,111
		$264,263,980
Act March 1, 1879, reduction on tobacco		9,905,736
Act May 28, 1880, stamp-tax, rectifiers, and interest on tax on spirits,		1,789,827
Act of March 3, 1883, reduction on tobacco, snuff, and cigars	$25,409,551	
Repeal of stamp-tax on checks, patent medicines, and matches	8,139,218	
Repeal of tax on capital and deposits, State banks, and bankers	5,249,173	
Repeal of tax on capital and deposits of National banks	5,959,702	
		44,757,644
Total reduction		$320,717,187

Eight of the foregoing acts reducing taxation, and which took off taxes to the amount of $309,060,624, were passed by Republican majorities in the House of Representatives. Since March 4, 1875, to the present time the Democratic party has had control of the House of Representatives except for two years; during the twelve years of Democratic majorities but two acts have been passed reducing internal taxation, those of March 1, 1879, and May 28, 1880, effecting a reduction of $11,696,563. These acts were supported by Republicans in Congress and met the approval of the Republican administration. In fact this whole reduction has been secured to the people by the action of the Republican party.

It is conceded on every hand that the Treasury receipts are greatly in excess of the needs of the government.

The present administration during the past three years has been at its wits' end to know what disposition to make of the steadily growing surplus. Several millions have been deposited with National Banks for no better reasons than that it was not needed by the government, and this disposition of it would be a relief to business interests, while other millions have been used for the purchase of bonds at a large premium. The demand of the hour is that there shall be a reduction of taxation. Seven months ago the President in his message to Congress pointed out the danger of the accumulation of great and needless sums in the Treasury, and urged immediate action upon Congress to pass laws reducing taxation. He, however, confined his recommendation to a reduction of the receipts from the tariff by lowering the rates of duties.

It was well known that legislation of this character upon the lines recommended by the President would be resisted by the Republican party, and it might have been confidently predicted that such a measure, if not actually defeated, would not become a law for a number of months; besides, it is practicably impossible to determine in advance whether a reduction of the rates of duties on a number of leading articles will result in a reduction of revenue, as lowering the rates may stimulate importation and actually increase receipts. A number of bills were introduced early in the session for the repeal of the tobacco tax and the tax upon distilled spirits. It has been impossible, however, to bring the House of Representatives to a vote upon any of the separate measures for reducing internal-revenue taxation.

For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1887, the receipts from tobacco, snuff, cigars, and special taxes on manufacturers, dealers, etc., were $30,108,067. If these taxes were abolished, there would be no mistake as to the reduction of the Treasury receipts to that extent, and there seems no just ground upon which this tax can longer be maintained. The manufacturers of cigars prefer that a nominal tax shall be levied upon their productions as a means of protecting their brands. This might be done with propriety, but the special taxes upon the 509,361 manufacturers and dealers in tobacco should be abolished at once. This

would relieve a mighty army of people from the payment of these taxes, and from the pains and penalties liable to be inflicted upon them for trivial violations of law without fraudulent intent.

The position of the Republicans on this question is in harmony with the policy of the government from its foundation. Internal-revenue taxation has never been resorted to except to relieve the burdens of war, and has always been repealed as soon as such demands were satisfied. It is the only "war tax" remaining on our statute books to-day, and as such should be dispensed with.

There is no question but what a proposition pure and simple to repeal these taxes if presented to Congress would pass both Houses by overwhelming majorities. The fault for a failure to dismiss them lies with the Democratic managers of the House of Representatives. A bill to take the tax off distilled spirits used in the arts and manufactures would also undoubtedly meet the approval of both Houses, and would reduce receipts at least eight millions. These two items would amount to over $38,000,000 of a reduction, and would be a substantial beginning of the work of reducing the receipts of the government to its needs for an economical administration of public affairs.

It must be remembered that under the Constitution the power to originate revenue measures is conferred upon the House of Representatives. The Senate may not properly take up subjects of taxation until a bill involving such a question has passed the House, and has been sent to the Senate for its action. Therefore, the responsibility for a failure to reduce taxes during the administration of President Cleveland rests upon the Democratic party. As has been shown, while the Republican party held the Presidential office and influenced legislation, internal taxes were reduced more than 320 millions of dollars, while during the past three years of Democratic control of the Executive office and of the House of Representatives that party has not reduced internal taxes one cent.

The enactment and enforcement of the internal-revenue laws by the Republican party, were for many years the objec-

tive point of attack of Democrats in many States, and so violent was the opposition of leading public men to these laws, that whole communities were encouraged to engage in the business of defrauding the government and in resisting its officers. This hostility and opposition became so formidable in some of the Southern States that it required the organization of large parties of armed men to overcome resistance and suppress fraud. The action of the Democratic leaders since the inauguration of President Cleveland, in regard to this service and its laws, is strongly at variance with their course during Republican control.

Now the internal-revenue service supplies them with many heretofore coveted offices, and being in possession of them, the taxes which were denounced as odious are not now regarded with such horror. A great change has come over the spirit of their dreams. They no longer hold up to public contempt the hated internal-revenue officer. This person is now a Democrat, and of course must be regarded as a gentleman; and if these taxes are repealed, the occupation of this efficient Democratic worker will be gone. Hence the present splendid exhibition of "how not to do it" in the way of repealing internal taxation.

Since the foregoing lines were written the National Convention of the Republican party has performed its work: General Benjamin Harrison of Indiana and Hon. Levi P. Morton have been chosen as candidates for President and Vice-President; these able and distinguished citizens worthily represent the lofty aspirations, the grand principles, and glorious achivements of the party whose candidates they are.

The platform adopted by the Convention presents in plain and unmistakable terms the issues involved in the present political contest. The Republican party demands the preservation and continuance of the protective system of tariff legislation as a means of developing the resources of our own country, and of maintaining such a scale of wages to our whole people as will secure to Americans better houses and home comforts, better advantages and prospects for their children, and abundantly greater reasons for contentment and happiness, than is possible for the people of the old world. The party demands that the ex-

cessive revenues of the government shall be immediately reduced, and as a beginning insists that the tobacco tax and the tax upon distilled spirits used in arts and manufactures shall at once be repealed. It will be for the people to say whether the party manifestly disregardful of the interests of a tax-paying public shall be retained in power and whether it will not be wise to restore the reins of government to that party which had the wisdom to frame great tax laws when they were required, and has proven its ability and willingness to lighten the burdens of taxation when the revenues were excessive.

A PROTECTIVE TARIFF.

By Hon. William McKinley, Jr., M.C. from Ohio.

The general question of the tariff involves higher considerations than we are wont to bring to its discussion.

Our political system differs from all others. Universal citizenship and equal suffrage constitute the foundation upon which our Republic rests, and the real and wider question, therefore, of the tariff is, What will best maintain our industrial pursuits and labor conditions suitable to the high political duties of our people and the exalted trusts which are confided to them? That is the real question in its comprehensive view. It touches the health and progress of the Republic, for it touches the condition, moral, physical, and intellectual, of the citizen from whom it must draw its force and character and strength. You cannot affect the citizen either for good or ill without the Nation feeling it. The relation of the people to the government and the government to the people is so close and intimate, that you cannot touch the one without its being quickly felt by the other.

So long as American protective tariffs operate to foster and cherish American enterprises which are enabled to provide profitable employment to American labor, so long should American protective tariffs be upheld and defended, whether assaulted from influences at home or abroad. We cannot be healthy and vigorous as a nation, we cannot successfully lead in the race of freedom and progress, if the source of power—the people—is discontented, ill fed, ill paid, and without the comforts and deprived of the healthful conditions which should be enjoyed by political equals.

It is not a question simply of whether we shall clothe ourselves in cloths manufactured from American wools or in

cloths fabricated from Australian wools, but how will the Nation at large and the individual citizen be affected by the policy which makes the latter necessary, if not inevitable.

It is not the narrow question of the cost of the clothes we wear, or the food we eat, or the lumber which gives shelter to our homes, but what will be the effect of such alleged reduced cost, and all which must follow it, upon our citizenship, and ultimately its influence upon the strength and character of our institutions. The government, which derives all its powers from the people, must be mindful of their interests, considerate of their character, and in every way possible favor their preparation for the responsibilities with which they are charged. It is a broader question than the price of the foreign or the domestic product; and while the latter may in some instances cost a little more than the former, it is of little significance when measured by the comforts and advantages which might be afforded the masses of our country, and which cannot be secured without the maintenance of an American policy.

Free trade with every other nation of the world means to us either the substantial abandonment of many of the chief industries of the country, or, if they are to survive, it means equal cost in the growth and manufacture of competing products. One of the two things must inevitably result from free trade or a purely revenue tariff.

In some departments of industry the cost of production in this country is greater than that in any other, and to remove the protection which we secure by our tariffs will either surrender our markets in those departments to our foreign competitors or, if we would hold them, we must diminish the cost of the competing products, and that means—and there can be no other result—a radical reduction in the wages of our workmen.

Our duty, therefore, is not limited to the mere question of dollars and cents, but it is deeper and more far-reaching. It involves our industrial independence and the welfare of our people. Comparisons cannot be made with other nations. This is a nation of citizens, not subjects. Whatever, therefore, will secure to the laboring masses their full share in the joint profits of capital and labor, favor the highest intelligence and

largest independence, should be adopted and become permanently a part of our national policy.

Much idle talk is indulged in about manufacturing combines and monopolies in the United States, and everything is called a monopoly that prospers; everybody who gets ahead in the world is in the minds of some people a monopolist.

We have few manufacturing monopolists in the United States to-day. They cannot long exist with an unrestricted home competition such as we have. They feel the spur of competition from thirty-eight States, and extortion and monopoly cannot survive the sharp contest among our own capitalists and enterprising citizens. There are some here and there; and yet those who shout the loudest against monopolies are usually found advocating a doctrine which, if carried into practical operation, would break down American manufactures, and give England the unbridled monopoly of American markets. English monopoly does not disturb them; it is American monopoly that distresses their souls. Under the cry of a "bounty-fed monopoly" they would transfer manufacturing from American citizens to foreign citizens.

Would it not be better that America and American manufacturers should have the monopoly of American consumption than that England should have it; and is it not to be preferred that the American laborer and the American mechanic should have the monopoly of supplying the American markets than that English laborers and English mechanics should have it?

I would that all Americans had the love of country and of home institutions that possessed the spirit of Washington. His adopted son, George Washington Parke Custis, in a letter to Thomas Carbery, dated April 7, 1839, relates an incident which well illustrates the Americanism of the Father of his Country. Says Custis: "In 1799, when in command of his last army, in which I had the honor to bear a commission, a blue coat with embroidery was the arrangement made by a board of general officers as the costume of the chief. Washington merely asked, 'Can this affair be done in the United States?' On being told 'No,' that the embroidery must be executed in Europe, the venerable chief declined the whole affair instanter."

The manufacturers of this country, as a rule, are not deserving of being characterized as monopolists. They have no princely fortunes; in general they have no independent means. Their all is in the brick and mortar of their establishments, in the machinery, in the organization, in their trade: and how many of them to-day would be willing to sell out at first cost, and below first cost, if they could do it? He who would break down the manufacturers of this country strikes a fatal blow at labor. It is labor that "protection" protects.

Over three hundred millions of dollars must be raised annually from some source to meet the expenditures and obligations of the government.

This sum must be secured either by direct taxation or by duties upon imports. The former system has never been favored by our people, and has been resorted to only in case of war and great public necessity. It has never been held as a permanent system for raising revenue, but only as a temporary expedient to meet immediate and pressing exigencies for which the prevailing system of taxation was found for the time inadequate. It has been the accepted policy from the formation of the government to raise our current and necessary revenues from import duties. The only reason for a surplus in the Treasury to-day is because we continue the dual system of taxation and still retain a part of the internal-revenue or direct system of taxation which grew out of the necessities of the war. If this were abandoned we would be able to raise the requisite revenue from customs sources, and this taxation would be lightly felt and prove less onerous than any other system.

It is only a question of time, if our surplus continues, when the internal-revenue system will be wholly abolished and our revenue be derived exclusively from duties upon imports. It can well be left with the States to tax spirits and receive the revenues derived therefrom. Whenever it becomes apparent to the public that the one or the other must yield, the internal-revenue tax will be abolished.

The division between the Republican and Democratic parties is not about the raising of revenues from import duties, but upon the class of articles on which these duties shall be im-

J. A. Garfield

posed. The Republican idea is to place the duties upon foreign articles imported which compete with those produced here, and with the exception of luxuries to permit the non-competing articles to enter our custom-houses free. The Democratic idea is a revenue tariff purely, by which duties are imposed upon foreign articles which do not compete with articles produced at home. This results in there being a selection made from the list of imported articles of those which are necessary to the wants of our people, and which we can procure only from the foreign supply, and placing upon them the duty, while permitting the articles which come from abroad in competition with our domestic production to come in free. The one makes the competing foreign product bear the burden, the other the non-competing: and herein is found the real division between the two great parties upon this economic question.

If the duty is placed upon the non-competing foreign product, that duty is manifestly paid by the American consumer, for it is just so much added to the cost, there being no competition in this country to reduce or regulate the price.

But if the duty is paid upon the competing product which comes from abroad, that duty is seldom, if ever, paid by the consumer, but by the foreign producer, because for the sake of getting into this market to sell alongside the domestic production he accepts diminished profits.

To secure larger revenue from lower duties necessitates largely increased importations; and if these compete with domestic products, the latter must be diminished or find other and distant and, I may say, impossible markets, or get out of the way altogether.

Any tax levied upon a foreign product which is a necessity to our people, and which we cannot fully supply, will produce revenue in amount only measured by our necessities and ability to buy. In a word, foreign productions not competing with home productions are the proper subjects for taxation under a revenue tariff, and in case these do not furnish the requisite revenue a low duty is put upon the foreign product competing with the domestic one—low enough to encourage and stimulate

importations, and low enough to break down eventually domestic competition.

As I have said before, a protective tariff imposes the duty upon the competing foreign product; it makes it bear the burden or duty. It says to our foreign competitor, If you want to bring your merchandise here, your farm products here, your coal and iron ore, your wool, your salt, your pottery, your glass, your cottons and woolens, and sell alongside of our producers in our markets, we will make your product bear a duty; in effect, pay for the privilege of doing it. Our kind of a tariff makes the competing foreign article carry the burden, draw the load, supply the revenue; and in performing this essential office it encourages at the same time our own industries and protects our own people in their chosen employments. That is the mission and purpose of a protective tariff.

We have free trade among ourselves throughout thirty-eight States and the Territories and among sixty millions of people. Absolute freedom of exchange within our own borders and among our own citizens is the law of the Republic. Reasonable taxation and restraint upon those without is the dictate of enlightened patriotism and the doctrine of the Republican party. Free trade in the United States is founded upon a community of equalities and reciprocities. It is like the unrestrained freedom and reciprocal relations and obligations of a family. Here we are one country, one language, one allegiance, one standard of citizenship, one flag, one Constitution, one nation, one destiny. It is otherwise with foreign nations, each a separate organism, a distinct and independent political society organized for its own, to protect its own, and work out its own destiny. We deny to those foreign nations free trade with us upon equal terms with our own producers. The foreign producer has no right or claim to equality with our own. He is not amenable to our laws. There are resting upon him none of the obligations of citizenship. He pays no taxes. He performs no civil duties; is subject to no demands for military service. He is exempt from State, county, and municipal obligations. He contributes nothing to the support, the progress, and glory of the Nation. Why should he enjoy unre-

strained equal privileges and profits in our markets with our producers, our labor, and our tax-payers? We put a burden upon his productions, we discriminate against his merchandise, because he is alien to us and our interests, and we do it to protect our own, defend our own, preserve our own, who are always with us in adversity and prosperity, in sympathy and purpose, and, if necessary, in sacrifice. That is the principle which governs us. I submit it is a patriotic and righteous one. In our own country, each citizen competing with the other in free and unresentful rivalry, while with the rest of the world all are united and together in resisting outside competition as we would foreign interference.

Free foreign trade admits the foreigner to equal privileges with our own citizens. It invites the product of foreign cheap labor to this market in competition with the domestic product, representing higher and better-paid labor. It results in giving our money, our manufactures, and our markets to other nations, to the injury of our labor, our tradespeople, and our farmers. Protection keeps money, markets, and manufactures at home for the benefit of our own people.

It is scarcely worth while to more than state the proposition that taxation upon a foreign competing product is more easily paid and is less burdensome than taxation upon the non-competing product. In the latter it is always added to the foreign cost, and therefore paid by the consumer, while in the former, where the duty is upon the competing product, it is largely paid in the form of diminished profits to the foreign producer. It would be burdensome beyond endurance to collect our taxes from the products, professions, and labor of our own people.

The value of the protective system consists in the encouragement it gives to American enterprise, the diversification of industries, and the increased demand for labor.

It enables the American manufacturer to pay better wages and supply steadier employment to labor, for under the free-trade or revenue-tariff system our labor and, indeed, the whole cost of production must of necessity be brought down to the prevailing cost of production of competing countries. The fundamental argument of protection concerns the benefits it brings

to labor. That it enables the manufacturer to pay more and better wages than are paid for like services anywhere else will not be disputed. There is no branch of labor in the United States which does not receive higher rewards than in any other country. Our laborers are not only the best paid, the best clothed, and the best educated in the world, but they have more comforts, more independence, more moral force and political power, more savings, and are better contented than their rivals anywhere else.

Mr. Hewitt of New York, on January 26, 1870, in a letter addressed to Mr. Jay Gould, among other things, said: "Free trade will simply reduce the wages of labor to the foreign standard, and, as a matter of course, the ability of a laborer to consume will be reduced, and serious loss will be inflicted on commerce, general industry," etc.

In the discussion of the benefits of free trade or a revenue tariff as contrasted with protection, the friends and advocates of the former are in the habit of representing the tariff between 1846 and 1860 under the revenue tariff law of 1846, commonly known as the Robert J. Walker tariff, as giving the highest evidence of prosperity and securing the highest profit to investors, and it is urged that greater possibilities, individual and national, were secured under that system.

The Speaker of the House of Representatives, in his speech made in the present (Fiftieth) Congress, May 19th, dwelt at length upon this period as the exceptionally prosperous one in our history, and accredited it to the revenue-tariff legislation prevailing during that era. With such a claim from so high an authority, it is worth while to ascertain what, in fact, was our condition during this period. The low tariff of 1846 commenced its havoc upon the business of the country even before 1850. In December, 1849, the firm of Cooper & Hewitt speaks of the condition of the iron trade in the following language:

"And first, what is the real condition of the domestic iron trade? Is it actually depressed and threatened with ruin, or does all the outcry proceed from men who, having realized "princely fortunes" annually, are now clamorous because their profits are reduced to reasonable limits, or from another class,

who, having erected works in improper locations, desire not so much to make iron cheaply as to build up villages and speculate in real estate? Undoubtedly to some extent there are such cases; . . . but as to the great fact, that the great majority of establishments judiciously located and managed with proper skill and economy have been compelled to suspend work throughout the land for want of remunerating work, there cannot be a shadow of a doubt."

On the 2d of December, 1851, President Fillmore, in his message advising Congress of the condition of the country, as he was required to do under the Constitution, said:

"The values of our domestic exports for the last fiscal year, as compared with those of the previous year, exhibit an increase of $43,646,322. At first view this condition of our trade with foreign nations would seem to present the most flattering hope of its future prosperity. An examination of the details of our exports, however, will show that the increased value of our exports for the last fiscal year is to be found in the high price of cotton which prevailed during the last half of that year, which price has since declined about one half. The value of our exports of breadstuffs and provisions, which it was supposed the incentive of a low tariff and large importations from abroad would have greatly augmented, has fallen from $68,701,921 in 1847 to $26,051,373 in 1850, and to $21,848,653 in 1851, with a strong probability, amounting almost to a certainty, of a still further reduction in the current year. The aggregate values of rice exported during the last fiscal year as compared with the previous year also exhibit a decrease amounting to $460,917, which, with a decline in the values of the exports of tobacco for the same period, make an aggregate decrease in these two articles of $1,156,751. The policy which dictated a low rate of duties on foreign merchandise, it was thought by those who promoted and established it, would tend to benefit the farming population of this country by increasing the demand and raising the price of agricultural products in foreign markets.

"The foregoing facts, however, seem to show incontestably that no such result has followed the adoption of this policy."

Again, one year later, in his message to Congress, President Fillmore stated the following to be the condition of the country:

"Without repeating the arguments contained in my former message in favor of discriminating protective duties, I deem it my duty to call your attention to one or two other considerations affecting this subject. The first is the effect of large importations of foreign goods upon our currency. Most of the gold of California, as fast as it is coined, finds its way directly to Europe, in payment for goods purchased. In the second place, as our manufacturing establishments are broken down by competition with foreigners, the capital invested in them is lost, thousands of honest and industrious citizens are thrown out of employment, and the farmer, to that extent, is deprived of a home market for the sale of his surplus produce. In the third place, the destruction of our manufactures leaves the foreigner without competition in our market, and he consequently raises the price of the articles sent here for sale, as is now seen in the increased cost of iron imported from England. The prosperity and wealth of every nation must depend upon its productive industry. The farmer is stimulated to exertion by finding a ready market for his surplus products, and benefited by being able to exchange them without loss of time or expense of transportation for the manufactures which his comfort or convenience requires. This is always done to the best advantage where a portion of the community in which he lives is engaged in other pursuits. But most manufactures require an amount of capital and a practical skill which cannot be commanded unless they be protected for a time from ruinous competition from abroad."

Mr. Buchanan, on December 8, 1857, in his message to Congress, used the following language:

"The earth has yielded her fruits abundantly, and has bountifully rewarded the toil of the husbandman. Our great staples have commanded high prices, and, up till within a brief period, our manufacturing, mineral, and mechanical occupations have largely partaken of the general prosperity. We have possessed all the elements of material wealth in rich abundance, and yet, notwithstanding all these advantages, our country in its mone-

tary interests is at the present moment in a deplorable condition. In the midst of unsurpassed plenty in all the productions and in all the elements of national wealth, we find our manufactures suspended, our public works retarded, our private enterprises of different kinds abandoned, and thousands of useful laborers thrown out of employment and reduced to want. The revenue of the government, which is chiefly derived from duties on imports from abroad, has been greatly reduced, while the appropriations made by Congress at its last session for the current fiscal year are very large in amount."

Again, in his next message, he says: "No statesman would advise that we should go on increasing the national debt to meet the ordinary expenses of the government. This would be a most ruinous policy. In case of war our credit must be our chief resource, at least for the first year, and this would be greatly impaired by having contracted a large debt in time of peace. It is our true policy to increase our revenue so as to equal our expenditures. It would be ruinous to continue to borrow. Besides, it may be proper to observe that the incidental protection thus afforded by a revenue tariff would at the present moment, to some extent, increase the confidence of the manufacturing interests and give a fresh impulse to our reviving business. To this surely no person would object."

In December, 1860, the last month of the last year of this free-trade period, Congress was called upon to authorize the issue of treasury notes, redeemable at the expiration of one year, to supply the government with money to meet its current expenses.

This was after thirteen years of trial of the revenue-tariff policy of the Democratic party. Ten million nine hundred thousand dollars of these treasury notes were sold. About nine million of them were sold at a discount of from 10 to 12 per cent, and the remainder at a discount of from 6 to $9\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. On the 8th of February, 1861, when we were still within this revenue-tariff period, Congress authorized the sale of twenty-five million dollars of bonds at 6 per cent interest, payable at the end of twenty years. Only $18,000,000 of them were sold in the market at $89\frac{1}{10}$ cents on the dollar. So bad

had the credit of the government become that in January, 1861, the Secretary of the Treasury suggested to Congress, as a last resort, that the several States of the Union be asked, as security for the repayment of any money the government might find it necessary to borrow, to pledge to the government the deposits received by them under the act for the distribution of the surplus revenues of 1836. The Secretary believed that a loan contracted on such a basis of security, adding to the plighted faith of the United States that of the individual States, could hardly fail to be acceptable to the lenders of money.

Thus was the United States driven by the Democratic revenue policy, such as is now sought to be engrafted upon our legislation, to the very brink of financial ruin, with neither money nor credit. Instead of the era from '50 to '60 presenting a reason for a return to the policy then prevailing, it furnishes the very highest reason for avoiding it.

Under the protective system inaugurated in '61, and which has continued from that time until now, we have witnessed the highest prosperity among our own citizens and in the Nation at large. The census of 1880 discloses the growth of the country during the latter period, and the high credit attained by the government is the world's wonder. No other nation of the world has such credit as ours. Our Fours, due in 1907, are sold at a premium of 27¾. Our Fours-and-a-half, due in 1891, sell at the premium of 7⅛, while the Treasury itself has, instead of a deficit, a surplus, and, instead of selling treasury notes and bonds at a discount, the government is paying large premiums upon its obligations not yet matured, from its redundant revenues.

Intimately associated with the idea of a protective tariff is the manner of levying that tariff. All know the difference between the *ad valorem* system and the specific mode of levying duties. One is based upon value, the other upon quantity. One is based upon the foreign value, difficult of ascertainment, resting in the judgment of experts, all the time offering a bribe to undervaluation; the other rests upon quantity, fixed and well known the world over, always determinable and always uniform. The one is assessed by the yard-stick, the ton, and

the pound-weight of commerce, and the other is assessed by the foreign value, fixed by the foreign importer or his agent in New York or elsewhere—fixed by the producer, fixed by anybody, at any price, to escape the payment of full duties. Why, the valuation under the *ad valorem* system is not even uniform throughout the United States.

It is a system that has been condemned by all the leading nations of the world. There is not a leading nation that adheres to any considerable extent to the *ad valorem* rates of duty upon articles imported into its borders; and England has abandoned all *ad valorem* duties except one, for the very reason that there can be no honest administration of the revenue laws so long as the value is fixed thousands of miles away from the the point of production and impossible of verification at home.

Henry Clay said fifty years ago: "Let me fix the value of the foreign merchandise, and I do not care what your duty is."

Mr. Secretary Manning, in his very able report made to the last Congress, has gone over the entire question, and he publishes in a volume the opinions of the experts of the Treasury, the collectors, the naval officers, the special agents of the Department, all of them declaring that there is nothing left for the American Government to do but to abolish the *ad valorem* system and adopt the specific in the interest of the honest collection of the revenue and for the safety and security of reputable merchants. And the Secretary himself says, in language too strong and plain to be misunderstood, that it is the duty of Congress to abandon the *ad valorem* and establish specific duties.

Not alone in the United States are the benefits which follow a protective tariff appreciated.

The working people of England find the competition with countries employing cheaper labor too oppressive to bear longer, and are demanding in the interest of themselves and families to be saved from the further degradation it will entail. It is not American competition they dread; it is the competition of France, Germany, and Belgium—countries whose labor is even more poorly paid than the labor of England. They have come to appreciate at last that nothing but tariffs which

are defensive in their character will save them from utter ruin and destitution. We shall be in precisely the same situation if the Mills bill of 1888 becomes a law. Our competition is with all the world, for no labor is so well paid as ours, and being the highest paid labor invites the sharpest competition from the lowest. We will have no objection to free trade when all the competing nations shall bring the level of their labor up to ours; when they shall accept our standard; when they shall regard the toiler as a man and not a slave; but we will never consent while we have votes and the power to prevent the dragging down of our labor to that of the European standard. Let them elevate theirs; let them bring theirs up to our level, and we will then have no contention about revenue or protective tariffs. We will meet them in open field, in home and neutral markets, upon equal footing, and the fittest will survive. This is no time to seriously think of changing our policy. The best sentiment, the practical judgment of mankind, is turning to it.

Sir Charles Tupper said, a year ago, in the Canadian House of Commons:

"No person who has carefully watched the progress of public events and public opinion can fail to know that a very great and marked change has taken place in all countries, I may say, in relation to this question [protection]. . . . In England, where it was a heresy to intimate anything of that kind a few years ago, even at the period to which I am referring, a great and marked change in public opinion has taken place. Professor Sidgewick, a learned Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and professor of moral philosophy in that great university, and the gentleman who read at the meeting of the British Association in 1886 a paper on political economy, has published a work in which opinions that would have been denounced as utterly fallacious and heretical at that time have been boldly propounded as the soundest and truest principles of political economy. . . . Statesmen of the first rank, men occupying high and commanding positions in public affairs in England, have unhesitatingly committed themselves to the

strongest opinion in favor of fair protection to British industry."

Why, even Canada, a dependency of free-trade England, is too wise to favor the false doctrines of her mother, and has rejected her teachings, and to-day is prosperous under a protective system, which she in the main borrowed from us. I wish every citizen might read the budget speech of the minister of finance in Canada, and contrast it with the arguments of the misguided "revenue reformers" in the Fiftieth Congress. On the 12th of May, 1887, in the Commons, Sir Charles Tupper, in speaking of a previous period in the history of Canada under free trade, said: "When the languishing industries of Canada embarrassed the finance minister of that day, when, instead of large surplus, large deficits succeeded year after year, the opposition urged upon that honorable gentleman that he should endeavor to give increased protection to the industries of Canada, which would prevent them from thus languishing and being destroyed. We were not successful—I will not say in leading the honorable gentleman himself to the conclusion that that would be a sound policy, for I have some reason to believe that he had many a misgiving on that question—but at all events we were not able to change the policy of the gentleman who then ruled the destinies of Canada. As is well known, that became the great issue at the subsequent general election of 1878, and the Conservative party being returned to power, pledged to promote and foster the industries of Canada as far as they were able, brought down a policy through the hands of my honored predecessor, Sir Leonard Tilley, . . . and I have no hesitation in saying that the success of that policy thus propounded and matured from time to time has been such as to command the support and confidence of a large portion of the people of this country down to the present day."

Under this system he proceeds to show that Canada has enjoyed a prosperity the like of which she never enjoyed before, and then, instead of recommending a reduction of duties, proposes the increase of duties upon certain foreign merchandise, to the end that Canadian industries may be fostered thereby.

The experience of this country, the experience of Canada, the experience of every other country demonstrates the fact that under a protective tariff a nation is more prosperous. Its people are better clothed, better fed, better housed, and better educated—more content and happy. And it is this condition of affairs that is most to be desired.

"The state of civilized society and resources of nations are the tests by which we can ascertain the tendency of the government. It is to the condition of the people in relation to their intercourse, their moral and physical circumstances, their comfort and happiness, their genius and industry, that we must look for the proofs of a mild and free, or a cruel and despotic government. Where agriculture, the arts and manufactures, flourish, where domestic improvements have been encouraged, where the more useful branches of education have been extensively cultivated, where commerce and navigation have been promoted, where the civil institutions are founded on justice, mercy, and equality, where there is liberty of conscience and freedom of speech and of the press—there it is that we can find the demonstrations of the prosperity and happiness of a people. In proportion as such principles and practices have been adopted we estimate the wealth, power, and glory of the Nation."

INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT.

By Hon. Benj. Butterworth, M.C. from Ohio, and F. D. Mussey.

In endeavoring to present a comprehensive statement of the progress, under the auspices of the Republican party, of internal development in the United States and a picture of its present industrial condition, difficulty is found in the amazing magnitude of the figures.

For instance, in the Treasury at this time there are two hundred and one million dollars of gold. This weighs 519 tons, and packed in ordinary carts, one ton to each cart, it would make a procession one mile long, allowing twenty feet of space for the movement of each cart. The statement of the figures may not be impressive, but the illustration makes it so.

The subject of the internal progress of the United States is so vast, that an article within the limits of this must confine itself largely to statistical facts, figures, and results, presented as attractively as possible and leaving deductions to the reader. The subject is treated of under the main general heads of Agriculture, Manufactures, Railroads, Commerce, and Mining, including other heads under these.

AGRICULTURE.

According to an estimate which is doubtless too small, we have in our country a million and a half square miles of arable land.

In 1850 we had about 300,000,000 of acres in farms, which number increased to nearly 600,000,000 in 1880. The number of farms has increased in the same time from less than 2,000,000 to, in round numbers, over 4,000,000, while the value of the farms has increased from six thousand millions to ten thousand millions of dollars. At the same time the average size of

farms has decreased from 203 to 134 acres, a most encouraging sign.

It is estimated by Mulhall that only about 15 per cent of the total area is as yet under cultivation, with an invested capital of over ten thousand six hundred millions of dollars. But even upon this small per cent of our available arable land we produced almost one third of the grain of the world in 1880.

Since that year the progress in agriculture has been as rapid as ever, and each year adds to the average of the stupendous figure it takes to tell the almost bewildering story of the agricultural industry of the United States. In one year Dakota alone added six million acres to her farming area, equal, as Carnegie remarks, to "one third of all Scotland." Mulhall's statement of the grain production will illustrate the amazing increase in agricultural products. In 1850 the product was 867,000,000 bushels; in 1860, 1,230,000,000 bushels; while in 1880 it had grown in round numbers to 2,700,000,000 bushels.

To-day we raise one fourth of all the wheat-crop of the world, and our country is feeding mankind and furnishing all the peoples of the earth with food of every description; consuming more ourselves than any other nation, we yet export more. The crop of wheat has increased from one hundred million in 1850 to near five hundred million bushels a year; and where we exported in 1860 about thirty million dollars' worth, we exported in 1887 wheat and flour to the amount of nearly two hundred millions of dollars. England alone paid us for her share of the "staff of life" we furnished her one hundred and seventy-five million dollars.

Last year we exported breadstuffs alone to the value of nearly two hundred and seven million dollars. Figures as striking characterize the exports of all other products of the agricultural industry, as will appear in dealing with them farther on. In connection with the decrease in acreage of farms is the further pleasant fact that fully three fourths of the farms are cultivated by their owners. This fact is one of the most encouraging that statistics develop, and one of the strongest guarantees of the safety of the State.

In 1879 our food-crops were produced on 105,097,750 acres,

or 164,215 square miles—less than one ninth the smallest estimate of our arable lands. But after plentifully and luxuriously feeding our fifty million people we had nearly three hundred million bushels left to sell to the rest of the world. At this rate, with all our arable soil under cultivation we could feed four hundred and fifty million people and have two and a half millions of grain (corn, wheat, oats, barley, rye, buckwheat, potatoes, etc.) left for export.

Mr. Edward Atkinson says that where we now support our present population of about sixty millions, one hundred millions could be sustained without increasing the area of a single farm or adding one to the number, by merely bringing our product up to an average standard of reasonably good agriculture; and then there might remain for export twice the quantity we now send abroad to feed the hungry in foreign lands.

Says Josiah Strong: "If this be true (and it will hardly be questioned by any one widely acquainted with our wasteful American farming), 1,500,000 square miles of cultivated land—less than one half of our entire area this side of Alaska—are capable of feeding a population of 900,000,000, and of producing an excess of 5,100,000,000 bushels of grain for exportation; or, if the crops were all consumed at home, it would feed a population one eighth larger, namely, 1,012,000,000." It need not, therefore, make a severe draught on credulity to say that our agricultural resources, if fully developed, would sustain a thousand million souls. The area of our farming territory lying west of the Hudson River is three times greater than Great Britain, Ireland, France, Germany, Austria, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, Denmark, and Greece combined. The farms of the United States comprise an area nearly equal in extent to one third of all Europe and greater than France, Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Spain combined.

Carnegie says that the capital invested in our farms would buy up the whole of Italy, "with its rich olive-groves and vineyards, its old historic cities, cathedrals, and palaces, its king and aristocracy, its pope and cardinals, and every other feudal appurtenance."

The crop of 1880 was more than two billions and a half of

bushels. This crop built into a solid mass 365 feet high,—81 feet higher than Trinity Church steeple and 144 feet higher than Bunker Hill monument,—and made the width of an ordinary city block, would extend in a straight line, in those proportions, over six miles. "It would make a pyramid three times as great as that of Cheops. If loaded on carts, it would require all the horses of Europe and a million more (thirty-three and a half millions) to remove it, though each horse drew two tons. Were the entire crop of cereals loaded on a continuous train of cars, the train would reach one and a half times around the globe. Its value is half as great as all the gold mined in California in the thirty-five years since gold was discovered there.

In 1884 half a million animals and a billion pounds of meat were sent across the ocean. The animals that furnished this product, placed five abreast, would make a procession over one hundred miles long.

Between 1860 and 1880 the product of cereals increased from one thousand two hundred and thirty million bushels to two thousand seven hundred million, the amount already named and illustrated—an increase of over 100 per cent—and three thousand million bushels in 1885. It is such facts as have been given that led an English economic student and statistician to complain that "dealing with the facts and figures of American progress and possibilities made one dizzy."

Following are some further figures on such progress which are not calculated to dispel any sense of giddiness occasioned by the foregoing.

The value of live-stock rose from one thousand million dollars in 1860 to two thousand million in 1880. The annual product of the farms reached over two thousand millions, and the annual value of food-products of all kinds is estimated at over five thousand million dollars. In that same period (1860 to 1880) the number of people engaged in gainful occupations increased from twelve million five hundred thousand to seventeen million five hundred thousand.

For the year the total value of the wheat, corn, rye, oats, barley, potatoes, hay, etc., was about two thousand five hun-

dred million dollars. Garden-truck, berries, orchard-products, etc., added several millions more. England, in a single year, paid our farmers six thousand millions of dollars for meat, butter, cheese, grain, eggs, fish, lard, potatoes, and rice.

Italy, Spain, Austria, and Canada united do not produce one third as much as the product of the United States. The total value of the agricultural and pastoral product for 1880 in the United States is reckoned at three thousand and twenty millions of dollars, as has been stated. Russia produced two thousand five hundred and forty-five millions; Germany, two thousand two hundred and eighty millions; France, two thousand two hundred and twenty millions; and England, one thousand two hundred and eighty millions of dollars.

During all these years of expansion not an article of consumption has increased in price, except beef, mutton, and pork (owing to the immense foreign demand), and the farmers have been reaping the advantage of increased value of their farms. The value of the total agricultural product of the Mississippi Valley alone was one thousand six hundred million dollars.

Our wool-clip for 1830 was 18,000,000 pounds; 1850, 52,000,000 pounds; 1860, 60,000,000 pounds; 1870, 160,000,000 pounds; and 1884, 308,000,000. Last year it was 285,000,000. The number of our sheep in 1881 was nearly forty-three and one half millions. It went up to 50,626,620 in 1884, and dropped to 44,759,314 last year (1887).

In 1860 we had 22,471,275 sheep, and the wool-clip amounted to 60,511,343 pounds. In 1883 the duty on wool and woolen goods was reduced, as it was on other things, and then the number of our sheep commenced to be reduced, and the wool-clip was lessened so that in 1886 it only amounted to 285,000.000 pounds, and in 1887 to 265,000,000 pounds, as estimated by Mr. Dodge, of the Bureau of Statistics of the Agricultural Department.

For purposes of comparison upon this important product the reader will find the following table advantageous:

PRODUCTION OF RAW WOOL IN EACH PRINCIPAL COUNTRY.

COUNTRIES OF PRODUCTION.	WOOL PRODUCED. Pounds.
Russia in Europe (1884)	262,966,000
United Kingdom (1885)	135,936,000
France (1882)	80,138,000
Spain (1878)	66,138,000
Germany (1881)	54,894,000
Hungary (1885)	43,146,000
United States of America (1886)	285,000,000
Argentine Republic (1885)	283,047,000
Uruguay (1884)	59,084,000
Australasia (1885–86)	455,470,000
British East Indies, Turkey, and Persia	36,354,000
Cape Colony and Natal (1885)	46,605,000

NUMBER OF SHEEP AND LAMBS.

COUNTRIES.	SHEEP AND LAMBS. Number.
Russia in Europe (1882)	47,508,966
United Kingdom (1886)	28,955,240
France (1885)	22,616,547
Spain (1878)	16,939,288
Germany (1883)	19,189,715
Hungary (1884)	10,594,831
United States of America (1887)	44,759,314
Argentine Republic (1885)	75,000,000
Uruguay (1884)	15,921,069
Australasia (1884–85)	78,888,710
India (1877–78)	17,140,757
Cape Colony and Natal (1875 and 1885)	11,815,225

We have already given totals in this branch of our subject, and there remains but little more to say. It will be interesting, however, to take up some prominent instances to show the wonderful increase of each product in bulk and value.

Take barley, for instance, not considered a prominent crop in our country. In 1860 the crop was sixteen million bushels. In 1880 it had increased to forty-five million, a tremendous leap, and last year it was sixty million. In 1887 the crop of oats was five hundred and sixty million bushels; rye, twenty-six million bushels; corn, nearly one thousand eight hundred million bushels; buckwheat, twelve million bushels; molasses, twenty-two million five hundred thousand gallons; sugar, 178,000 hogsheads, and so on through hundreds of products.

Of hay, the most valuable American crop, we produced in 1860 nineteen million tons. In 1880 the crop was thirty-six million tons, raised on thirty million acres.

The tobacco-crop from 1870 to 1880 increased almost 100 per cent. In 1886 672,000 acres were planted, and the crop reached nearly five hundred million pounds, valued at about thirty-three million dollars.

We produced one hundred and thirty-four million bushels of potatoes in the year 1887, over two bushels for each man, woman, and child; and the value of our orchard-product was fifty-three million dollars, and we imported twenty millions of dollars' worth beside.

In 1830 we raised less than one million bales of cotton. In 1880 the crop was nearly six million bales, valued at $275,000,000. Last year (1887) the value of exported cotton, unmanufactured, was $206,000,000, and of manufactures of cotton $15,000,000. The total export for 1880 was $220,000,000. In 1830 the value of the export was $30,000,000. Two thirds of our export is taken by England alone.

The following comparison of three staple crops will illustrate most forcibly the swift increase in our agricultural production:

	Corn.	Wheat.	Oats.
	Bushels.	Bushels.	Bushels.
1860	838,792,742	173,104,924	172,643,185
1880	1,754,861,535	459,479,505	407,858,999

The product for 1887 is, of course, much larger. Carnegie says the sum has been more than two thousand five hundred million dollars, and Mulhall values the total agricultural product for 1884 at no less than two thousand seven hundred and twenty-one million five hundred thousand dollars, a sum it is as impossible to conceive of or appreciate as the distance to a given fixed star.

In the department of live-stock the figures are not less amazing. In 1884 the total value of our farm animals was,

according to the statistics of the Agricultural Bureau, as follows:

Horses	$833,734,400
Mules	161,214,976
Cattle	1,106,715,703
Sheep	119,902,706
Swine	246,301,139
Total	$2,467,868,924

According to the census of 1870 the total value of farm animals at that time was $1,525,276,457, this being the currency value. The gold value would have been $1,220,221,165. Thus we have a gain from 1870 to 1884 of $1,247,647,759, or an increase of 102 per cent on farms exclusive of ranches.

The total number of hogs packed in 1880 was fifteen million, valued at three hundred million dollars. Including Chicago, the Mississippi Valley alone packed 9,443,774 hogs, valued at $155,425,360. Switzler gives the total value of live-stock in 1880 as $1,525,276,457, and the number as 140,972,673.

We have about fifteen million horses, two million and a half of mules and asses, and the grand cavalcade of domestic animals would, marching five abreast, considerably more than reach around the earth. In the statistics for our country, for every family appears at least one horse, one cow, four pigs, and three sheep, three bushels of potatoes, etc., etc., in like proportion, including money and land.

This statement of the agricultural situation falls far short of doing justice to the subject. In many instances allowance must be made for the fact that nearly a decade has elapsed since the last census was taken, and that the period has been one of healthful growth and development.

But it may be safely assumed that in perhaps every instance figures are short of the facts of the present day, and often far short of them. The census-takers and statisticians and professional figurers are unable to keep up with the American industrial progress as it strides on in its seven-league boots. Oftentimes they gaze amazed and awed at the results of their own computations, as the sculptor shrank from the statue of Jove he had fashioned. It is most pleasant to contemplate the fact that

this progress is not sectional; that it applies to all parts of the country alike; that everywhere within the boundary-lines of our vast land the same conditions endure, of advance, of progress, of growth and expansion in wealth and numbers.

It is especially pleasant to observe the figures of Southern progress under the existing industrial and financial policy, and which has prevailed since the Republican party came into power. To show this we give the following table showing the products of the Southern States for 1880 and 1888, though some of the items do not come under the head of the branch of industry we are considering:

	1888.	1880.
Railroad mileage	36,736	19,431
Yield of cotton, bales	6,800,000	5,755,359
Grain, bushels, 1887	626,305,000	431,074,630
Number of farm animals	44,830,972	28,754,243
Value of live-stock	$573,695,550	$391,312,254
Value of chief agricultural products, 1887	$742,066,460	$571,098,454
Coal mined, tons, 1887	16,476,785	6,049,471
Pig-iron produced, tons, 1887	929,436	397,301
Number of cotton-mills	294	179
Number of spindles	1,495,145	713,989
Number of looms	34,006	15,222
Value of cotton goods produced	$43,000,000	$21,000,000
Number of cotton-seed-oil mills	60	40
Capital invested in cotton-seed oil mills	$12,000,000	$3,504,000
Phosphate mined, tons	432,757	190,162

This alone, however, is a splendid exhibition for the South, and is only a hint of what will occur in that section if there is no legislative interference with existing policies, which make such things possible in a section that is just awaking to a realization of its own tremendous strength and illimitable resources and has nothing to fear but its own "representatives."

In closing this subject, we give the following terse and vigorous "round-number" statement from Porter: "The number of farms has doubled, 2,000,000 in 1860 to 4,000,000 in 1880; their value has increased in that period from $6,000,000,000 to over $10,000,000,000. The production of cereals has increased under protection from 1,230,000,000 bushels in 1860 to 2,700,000,000 bushels in 1880, an increase of over 100 per cent. The

value of live-stock has risen from $1,000,000,000 in 1860 to $1,500,000,000 in 1880; while the annual products of the farm have reached $3,000,000,000. The number of sheep, owing to the duty on wool, has more than doubled—22,000,000 in 1860 to over 50,000,000 at the present time. The home product of wool has increased from 60,000,000 to 325,000,000 pounds."

MANUFACTURING.

Agriculture and manufacturing are the great forces at work to develop the resources of the country—one providing food and material for clothing, and the other producing the clothing and other necessaries and luxuries of life, for the whole people. They are industries that go hand in hand, and neither can prosper long without the other.

The force employed in trade and transportation is not a productive force to any great extent, it being engaged simply in the exchange of articles already produced by those engaged in agriculture, manufacturing, and mining.

Agriculture naturally takes the first place in numbers, amount of product, and importance. But important as our agricultural industries are, our manufacturing industries are second only to them, and even outrank them in value of products. Allowing the same ratio of increase, says a well-known authority, for our manufacturing industries that had taken place for a few years previous to the last census, there are now in this country about 300,000 factories, employing nearly 4,500,000 people, with about $4,000,000,000 of capital invested; and the value of our manufactured products amounts annually to nearly $8,000,000,000, an excess, it is said, over those of Great Britain of more than $1,000,000,000 annually. How important to all, then, that our manufacturing industries also be encouraged and fostered by the government, equally and side by side with our agricultural industries.

It is a truth that the English accept with doubt and amazement the fact that the United States and not England is the greatest manufacturing nation in the world. The general idea is that America is great only in agriculture and its

product, and even our own people are surprised at the fact that Illinois, usually considered in her character of a great prairie and agricultural State only, is the fourth State in the Union in the value of her manufactured products. Only Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania lead Illinois in manufacturing.

Comparing the value of our agricultural with our manufactured products, it is shown that, although there are nearly twice as many people employed in agriculture as in manufacturing, the value of manufactured products is nearly double that of agricultural. This is accounted for in a great measure by the extensive use of steam, water-power, and machinery employed in manufacturing. According to statistics, the application of steam-power to machinery in this country has added a force equal to 2,183,488 horse-power; and the added force of water-power is equal to 1,225,339 horse-power,—making the increased force of steam and water combined equal to 3,408,827 horse-power. If we estimate one horse-power as equal to the labor of six men, these two forces have added a productive power equal to 20,452,962 men. The steam-power alone used in driving factories is equal to 15,110,928 men. It is said that the productive force derived from the steam-engines and water and air of Great Britain, including her navy, is equivalent to the labor of 75,000,000 men.

The gain of power by the use of steam, water, and machinery is illustrated in our factories, where girls of 15 are attending machines which in one day spin a thread 2100 miles in length —long enough to reach from New York to California.

Fifty years ago nearly all the spinning in this country was done by the common household spinning-wheel. An active woman working ten hours a day could spin a thread only three and eight-tenths miles in length, walking more than five miles in doing it. Says Mr. Miller: "Before the invention of the cotton-gin a man could clean only four pounds of cotton in a day. Now, by the use of machinery, he can clean 4000 pounds in the same time. A single boot and shoe factory in Massachusetts, employing 1000 men, will turn out nearly as many boots and shoes in a year, by the aid of steam and machinery,

as 30,000 French shoemakers. Some of our American factories will take the raw leather and cut and make in twenty minutes a pair of ladies' shoes ready for wear." It is true that farmers also have a great addition to their working forces in the machinery which is worked by horses, mules, and oxen, and lately by a modicum of steam-power also; but steam-power, as a productive force in manufacturing, is far greater than all these. As a force to add to our national wealth and to promote the prosperity of the people, manufacturing, if possible, outranks all other industries.

Steam-power and machinery add more than one billion of dollars to our productive force in manufacturing every year, independent of human exertion. Foreign countries gain this wealth when they do our manufacturing for us.

The returns of the tenth census (1880) give the following statistics of manufactories in the United States:

Number of establishments, 253,840; capital invested, $2,790,223,506; total amount paid in wages, $947,919,674; value of materials, $3,394,340,029; value of products, $5,369,667,706.

Spofford gives the aggregate returns for other years as follows: 1870, $4,232,325,442; 1860, $1,885,861,676; 1850, $1,019,106,616. This shows an increase in value of manufactured products between 1850 and 1880 of $4,350,472,575, a sum too large for the mind to grasp. But since then it has taken another leap, and the figures of the next census, if the present rate of progress continues, will be just as bewildering. During the same period British manufactures increased only 100 per cent, while our increase was, everything considered, nearly 600 per cent.

In the flouring and grist mills alone the product in 1880 was five hundred and five millions of dollars. The figures for this industry last year showed an increase almost past belief. There were even in 1880 25,000 mills, with a capacity to grind five million bushels daily, enough to feed our own people and 300,000,000 Europeans, who consume annually one billion three hundred and forty-seven million bushels.

In the slaughtering and beef-packing industry in 1880 $50,000,000 capital was invested, 30,000 persons employed, and

a product turned out valued at three hundred and three million dollars. Nearly two million cattle were killed, two million three hundred thousand sheep, sixteen million hogs, as we have stated under another head.

The production of steel rails has grown so enormously that we now manufacture more than any other country in the world. The importation of steel rails has also declined from 182,135 net tons in 1882 to 2395 tons in 1885. Importations under the rise in prices are now increasing again. It is estimated that more than $1,800,000,000 worth of steel rails have been made in this country, and the money which this vast production has cost has been kept at home to build up our own towns and cities.

In the year 1850 we manufactured 564,755 tons of pig-iron, while in 1883 we made 5,146,972 tons net, and in the latter year we also imported 490,875 tons. Since the reduction of duties in 1883 the production of pig-iron has fallen off, in 1885, 1,135,595 tons. In 1886 we surpassed Great Britain both in production of steel and consumption of iron. It is not possible to calculate the general good derived from the building up of this mammoth industry by a protective policy. It brought into and retained in the country vast sums of money, to go into and quicken all the avenues and arteries of trade, to build up cities, and by so doing creating home markets for the agriculturist, and adding greatly to the volume of trade and the business of transportation.

Our lumber trade in 1880 employed 150,000 men who were paid $32,000,000, and turned into market a product valued at two hundred and thirty-four million dollars. In one year 8,000,000,000 feet of lumber has been cut in three States alone; 1,500,000,000 feet of pine was cut in the South, and 216,000,000,000 left standing. The supply of timber cannot soon be exhausted, and the amount untouched cannot be estimated in figures. Recently Senator Palmer of Michigan was asked whether the lumber of Michigan, between lumbermen and fires, was not about exhausted. He replied that there was yet standing in the single State of Michigan enough timber to make a board fence fifteen boards high around the earth three times every year for fifteen years.

But we have not the space to name in detail the thousands of branches of manufacturing in the country. That industry and the inventions to simplify it are the marvels of the world. The communities that have grown up about the great manufactories with their pretty cottages, paved streets, gas, electricity, telephones, telegraphs, railroads, street-cars, parks, churches, schools, libraries, lyceums, and all the other concomitants of our advanced civilization, make the ideal industrial community that students of political economy and statesmen and scholars have dreamed of and theorized about in the past, and finally relegated to the limbo of Utopia as impossible of realization.

But here we have it, and nearly every one of these neat homes of the operatives is owned by the man who resides in it, just as nearly all the farms of America are owned by the men who till them. As an evidence of the prosperity of our operatives and wage-workers who own their own homes, send their children to the free schools, the high schools and even colleges, the savings-bank deposit is a faithful index. Last year the total deposit was $1,235,247,371, and the number of depositors was 3,418,013. The mill operatives of Massachusetts alone have in deposit $274,098,413; those of New York, $506,000,000, which is $100,000,000 more than the entire accumulation in the savings banks of England in four centuries. The laboring men of little Rhode Island alone have to their credit in the savings banks fifty-two millions of dollars. Our deposits have been more than three times as much under protection as under free trade.

The English savings banks in thirty-four years of free trade increased their deposits $350,000,000. During nineteen years of protection in the United States, deposits in the banks of nine States increased $628,000,000. Our operatives deposit seven dollars to the English operatives' one.

In this condition of welfare and money-saving, largely the fruit of Republican policy, the laboring man has leisure and ease of mind, and can give his attention to devices for improving machinery and methods. Nearly all the ingenious mechanism of our workshops is invented by practical workers themselves.

The foreign laborer, pinched by poverty, brutalized, ignorant and neglected, has no chance to think about the machinery or anything else, except his few coarse and oftentimes degraded pleasures.

Thus we are given one of our greatest advantages in the ingenuity and intelligence of our operatives, who possess inventiveness as a national trait. Herbert Spencer testified that "beyond question, in respect of mechanical appliances, the Americans are ahead of all nations." The fact of superior tools would alone give us no small advantage, but the possession of the best machinery implies much more—namely, that we have also the best mechanics in the world.

While the manufactures of France from 1870 to 1880 increased $230,000,000, those of Germany $430,000,000, and those of Great Britain $580,000,000, those of the United States increased $1,030,000,000—an increase almost equal to that of these three great nations combined. While England's coal is growing dearer, ours will be growing cheaper. The development of our vast resources will greatly increase, and hence cheapen raw materials. Every year the superior intelligence and inventive genius of our workmen elevate the standard of excellence in our machinery and mechanical appliances, and will continue to do so.

Even now, in almost every manufactured commodity, we can and do undersell foreign countries in their own marts, cheapen the steel in Sheffield, the watches in Switzerland, the cotton in Manchester, and the electric plate in Birmingham. And while we undersell them on their own door-sills, it is no wonder they put forth every effort to procure free trade with America, and break down the protective barrier thrown around our industries, or that their sympathy is with the Democratic party and against the party which considers it a patriotic duty to uphold the "American System."

COMMERCE.

In estimating the growth and development of our commerce during the last thirty years we must not consider merely

the greater bulk, but the change in character and increase in variety, of the subject-matter of commerce.

Science has disclosed more important uses for thousands of articles which have been held as worthless, and the inventive genius of the country has produced numberless novel and useful improvements in the devices and instrumentalities for lightening the labor of and lifting the burdens from our people, while multiplying their comforts a thousandfold. Of course our industries have been and are the parents of our commerce, furnishing as they do the materials for that commerce. Thirty-five years ago the commerce of our country was confined, in the main, to a comparatively limited number of articles. Our industries were then to what they are now as one to ten. They presented a scene of drudgery and struggling poverty.

Under a wise policy of favorable and encouraging legislation they have grown to the vast proportions that have been indicated under previous heads in this article.

With this advance, commerce and trade have kept pace with adequate improvements in shipping, handling, and transportation, and with them have come improved facilities for exchange, a perfection of national currency, increase of wages, increase of wealth, the upspringing of great States, communities, and cities, unparalleled increase of population, procurement of comforts and luxuries, and upraising of the general standard of living, of education and intelligence—thus raising and advancing the condition of a people beyond anything ever known in a like time in the world's history. Our tremendous rate of progress may be judged by the fact that last year after supplying our sixty million people with everything needful, far beyond what the general people of any other country can afford, we sold to the world merchandise to the value of over seven hundred and sixteen million dollars, as against two hundred and eighty-one millions in 1856, and that in 1850 our total domestic export was $136,946,912, against $703,022,923 last year (1887).

We were able to sell to the world in 1850 one hundred and twenty-four million dollars' worth of agricultural products, and last year we made the rest of the world pay us for our surplus agricultural product five hundred and twenty-three million

dollars. Meanwhile our population increased from 23,000,000 in 1850 to 50,000,000 in 1880. From 1850 to 1860 our increase in population was over 35 per cent; from 1860 to 1870 nearly 23 per cent; and from 1870 to 1880 it was over 30 per cent. From 1880 up to the present our increase from immigration alone has been fourteen million. Seven hundred and eighty-nine thousand arrived in one year (1882).

Some startling facts as to our commerce have been given under preceding heads when they were deemed appropriate for purposes of comparison, which is the first object of this article. Indeed to separate absolutely from one another the different topics is difficult, so closely are the interests of all interwoven, and so much is one dependent upon another.

Our total imports last year were $726,042,923, against $75,000,000 in 1830 and $163,186,510 in 1850, specie values. But the account of our exports is more astonishing in its increase. Beginning in 1790 at $20,000,000, it leaped to $60,000,000 in 1830, and bounded from that sum to $137,000,000 in 1850, and to $726,000,000 last year.

In 1886 we exported to Canada $15,000 worth not embraced in the United States customs accounts. Spofford under the head of "Commerce of Nations" puts our total export last year at $752,180,902, and imports $762,490,560. Under "Progress of American Exports in Thirty Years," Spofford puts the increase from 1850 to 1880 at $689,000,000.

These figures show vividly the great advance made under the policy of protection. With this advance, wages have become higher and rates of transportation lower. The building up of great cities and commercial centers creates home markets for farmers. The nearer the producer and the consumer can be brought together the less is paid for transportation, and the less the products of industry are absorbed by middlemen. The construction of cheap transportation routes has been stimulated. By making all kinds of business prosperous a demand is created for a greater number of railroads and increased facilities for moving freight. The more railroads we have, and the more waterways and other means of transportation, the

less the cost of transporting the farmers' products, as well as manufactured goods. There is no country in the world where there are so many railroads as in this, and no country where the freight rates are so low.

In 1865 the average charge per ton per mile for moving merchandise over the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad was $3.27 in gold. In the year 1885 the average charge per ton per mile on the same road was 68 cents, a decrease since 1865 of $2.59 per ton in gold. The United States also builds more ships than any other nation in the world except Great Britain. Our vessels, however, are nearly all used along our coast and on our inland waters for transportation in our domestic commerce.

In 1885 we built 920 vessels of all sorts with a gross tonnage of 159,056 tons. But our shipping is of little consequence compared with our railroads, canals, and waterways, and America turns her back to the sea and faces the enormous field of internal commerce and development. She can well afford to use the ships made and manned by the cheap labor of England. American thrift and energy and industry will instinctively seek the most promising field; when the sea becomes that field, the Yankee will promptly take possession of it. Since she has turned her face inward toward internal development and commerce, she has built up a property she would not exchange for all the kingdoms of the earth—a railroad property worth more than all the fleets that float.

The coasting trade of America presents a tonnage of 34,000,000 tons. Our total tonnage in 1884 was over 3,000,000 tons, next to that of Great Britain. The shipping engaged in internal commerce has a tonnage of 1,000,000, giving a total tonnage of 4,250,000 compared with the 7,000,000 of Great Britain. The American coasting tonnage alone is more than double the entire foreign traffic, while domestic commerce by rail, lake, and river is twenty times greater than the foreign trade.

In closing let us take a glance into the wonderland of the West. Consider for a moment these astounding statistics for

the city of Minneapolis: During 1887, 6428 miles were added to the railroads entering her depots; 6,375,250 barrels of flour were manufactured, against 940,786 in 1879; 46,000,000 bushels of wheat were handled in 1887, or 11,000,000 more than in 1886. In 1887 $11,010,537 was disbursed for freight by rail on wheat, flour, and bran, received or forwarded. The value of articles manufactured at Minneapolis last year, exclusive of lumber and flour, was $23,461,000, against $5,696,000 in 1878 The city, with a population of 200,000 souls, has nineteen banks, and the bank clearances had jumped from $87,978,000 in 1883 to $194,267,737 in 1887. In 1880 the population did not exceed 46,887.

This is the most amazing progress ever made by any city. Forty-five years ago the cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis neither existed nor were thought of. In 1887 the country tributary to St. Paul produced 95,000,000 bushels of wheat, half as many bushels of corn, 90,000,000 bushels of oats, $18,000,000 in silver, $5,000,000 in gold, $5,000,000 in copper, 2,500,000 head of cattle, 1,622,000 head of sheep, and an equally large amount in proportion of many other products, including an immense lumber product. No less than 3535 miles of railway by 1887 centred at these two cities, and the value of manufactured products had been increased from $6,150,900 in 1878 to $35,713,314 in 1887.

At St. Paul there were fourteen banks with a business capital of $6,675,000, whose loans aggregated $19,599,000, and whose exchange dealings footed up $160,427,000, while the money orders of the post-office there amounted to $4,153,215, and the population was estimated at 225,000.

By the census of 1880 the population of St. Louis was 350,000, and was enumerated at 450,000 in 1886. In 1887 the aggregate tonnage of freight by river and rail received and shipped at St. Louis was 4,895,457 tons, against 2,122,624 in 1878 from the South. The total shipments and receipts of freight by river and rail from all quarters in 1887 were 14,359,059 tons, against 6,995,241 tons in 1878. Bank clearances aggregated $894,527,791 in 1887, against $810,769,962 in 1886.

Kansas City adds its great chapter to the thrilling story.

Her population was but 2000 in 1857, and 5000 in 1865. Her population in 1887 had reached 166,000, while the transactions of her clearing house were increased from $204,333,000 in 1885 to $311,895,000 for the year ended on June 30, 1887, the place then taking rank as the tenth city in the United States in the magnitude of its clearances. Bank deposits were increased from $11,249,000 in 1886 to $21,289,000 in 1887, loans from $8,024,000 to $14,278,000, specie from $832,000 to $1,914,000, and legal tenders from $945,000 to $1,664,000. The assessed valuation was increased from $9,000,000 in 1878 to $53,917,000 in 1887.

In 1880 Omaha had a population of but 30,000; to-day it numbers 125,000. The wholesale trade during 1887 nearly doubled that of 1886. Here has grown up one of the largest reduction works of the money metals in the world. Omaha is already the third place in the country in respect of the slaughtering of animals and packing of meat. Its bank clearings for 1887 more than doubled those of 1884, and were increased from $93,793,835 in 1886 to $144,414,148 in 1887. The industrial establishments of this city have had a phenomenal growth even for the Mississippi Valley. Hogs, beef, and sheep were slaughtered there last year to the value of $13,708,120.

This is but a small part of the interesting story, and only these cities are chosen to illustrate a progress that is not a steady moving on, but a progress by tremendous bounds that clear spaces which in other countries it took centuries to cover.

RAILWAYS.

There is no more interesting subject connected with the internal development of the United States than the rise, growth, and present condition of the railway system.

While the figures of railway progress are almost beyond belief, there are a thousand matters connected with this development that cannot be covered by these figures. They have nothing to say of the civilizing and humanizing influence of the tremendous system of railroads and steam horses that make a network of steel, the meshes of which cover all the land.

The railroad statistics of themselves do little beyond suggesting to the thoughtful something of what the industry has been and is to the country, in the way of education, and raising the high standard of intelligence and knowledge and mental activity of our people, who, through encouragement of railways, and internal improvements, free schools, protection to American labor from foreign competition, free homes, and absolute free trade between the States and Territories of the Union, have become the most intelligent, ingenious, progressive, and prosperous people in the world, aided as they have been by an untold wealth of varied natural resources such as God has blessed no other nation with.

The development of our railway system is only partially shown by an exhibit of the number of miles of increase in lines built. A hundred other considerations enter into the matter. We must consider the character of the roads, the nature of the machinery, and equipment in reference to safety, speed, and capacity, all tending to reduce the cost of shipment and transportation, and greatly simplifying the problem involved in the wonderful growth of our commerce.

We must know that by these improvements business is done by merchants and manufacturers and producers of all kinds, in transportation of goods, at one half the gross profit charged and, in fact, indispensable thirty-five years ago. The improvements in the handling of goods, of grain, of farm animals, of heavy substances and every description of production, have kept full pace with the progress of the railways in efficiency toward the goal of comparative perfection.

It is only about fifty years ago that the first rail was laid. It is wholly within that period that our people have learned to travel by rail. Passengers were carried in lumbering stage-coaches, and mails taken by stage or upon horseback. In 1835 the speed of communications achieved by the "Express Mail" was presented as the triumph of fast traveling. The mail express took one day and eight hours between New York and Washington, and four days and sixteen hours between New York and Columbus, Ohio. The discomforts of those times can readily be recalled by many people who now ride from

New York to Washington in five hours, and enjoy on the way every comfort and even every luxury they have in their own homes, no matter how well provided they are with this world's goods.

People are excusable for smiling when they think of Clay's account of his first railroad ride when he "swept along at the amazing rate of fifteen miles an hour," when they are sweeping along at the rate of from fifty to sixty miles an hour on the road between Washington and Baltimore, or Philadelphia and New York.

In the carrying trade of commerce the advance has not been less remarkable, and the difference between the old ordinary passenger-cars and the present palace hotel-cars is not less striking than the difference between the ancient and modern cars for transporting animals. The terms "ancient" and "modern" in American progress often represent a difference of time of only a decade, or at the most a generation.

In 1830 the first mile of railroad in America was graded, and in 1880 we had in our country nearly 88,000 miles of completed road, which is more than long enough to reach around the globe three times. During that time we laid rail enough to wrap a steel string around the globe eight times in case she showed any signs of bursting or bulging out from internal pressure.

Our areas, distances, length of rivers and canals, and coasts and railroads are bewildering to our European friends, and especially to the denizens of our mother-country treading about in the peck measure of their "tight little island." Even our own people are often astonished beyond measure at the comparisons made between things American and things foreign. If you combine the great empire of Germany with the vast republic of France, or with England herself, you can put the result inside of the boundaries of the single State of Texas, and leave room for Mr. Mills and his tariff bill to get lost in.

The total train mileage last year was 569,772,990, and the number of passengers carried was 382,284,972. The number of tons moved was 482,245,254. The total freight earnings were $550,359,054; the passenger earnings were $211,929,857,

and the income from other sources was $60,000,000. The total earnings of our entire railroad system were $882,191,949. The operating expenses were $524,880,334. Net earnings were $297,311,615. Continuing to give the cold figures of our railroad industry, which make the skeleton furnished by the statistician upon which the writer may put the warm flesh of deduction and illustration and comparison, we find that the cost of equipment of the railway system as it existed last year was $7,254,995,223. The total assets were $8,548,315,333, and the total available revenue $363,511,704.

These figures contrast startlingly with those of the railroads as late as 1838, when the following notice appeared in the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*: "Fare Reduced! Leech & Co.'s Packet Line to Pittsburgh, via railroads and canals. Through in four and a half days!" Such rapid and reckless traveling in those days was looked upon as almost "tempting Providence." Yet men who made that trip are still alive, and making the same trip in a few hours in the magnificent "vestibule" trains running at the rate of from 45 to 50 miles an hour. To-day San Francisco is practically as near New York as was Pittsburgh in those good old days.

In 1860 we had a total of 30,635 miles of railroad; in 1870, 52,914 miles; in 1880, 93,349 miles; and by the end of 1887 we had reached the enormous figure of 148,987 miles. From 1883 to 1887, inclusive, there were constructed 34,174 miles; thus the increase in these 5 years was greater than our total mileage in 1860—the product of over 30 years of effort. The length of rails in 1886 was about 270,000 miles, of which over 105,723 were steel. There were in use 27,000 locomotives, 20,000 passenger cars, and 845,914 freight cars.

The progress of transportation facilities in the United States from pedestrianism to railroads and steamboats is a fascinating subject, but we have space for dealing with it only in a cursory way. Having given the totals illustrating the immensity of the system, let us take some practical illustrations from a single railway company.

As good a representative line to use in this connection as any is the great Pennsylvania system, taken all in all the most

notable railway system in the world, though there are several others in the United States that are its close rivals. The number of miles controlled by the Pennsylvania Company is nearly 8,000. The total number of miles of track belonging to the company is nearly 12,000. The total number of miles of rail owned by the company is 23,000, which would nearly reach around the earth. The company owns nearly 3000 locomotives. These engines placed in a straight line would reach from Jersey City to Steelton. The company owns 2600 passenger cars, a line 27 miles long. The number of freight cars is nearly 100,000. In a straight line they would reach 550 miles, or if one end was in Jersey City the other end would be west of Canton, Ohio. Maintenance-of-way cars number 1000, making a line 6 miles long. Hand-cars and hand-trucks number 3,000, a line 5 miles long; and the 140 sleeping-cars would reach 3 miles.

As we said in our preliminary remarks, the total of rolling stock would reach, on a straight track, 605 miles, or from Jersey City to a point near Lucas Station, 165 miles west of Pittsburgh.

A locomotive of the present day costs on an average of $8100. The total value of Pennsylvania engines is about $14,000,000. At any given hour there are moving on the lines of the company 249 trains, made up of 1033 cars; of these, 164 passenger trains are east of Pittsburgh, and 85 west. At the same time there would be moving on lines east and west of Pittsburgh 500 freight trains with 1400 cars. At the Jersey City station 181 passenger trains arrive and depart daily, with nearly 1000 cars. At Broad Street Station, Philadelphia, 400 passenger trains arrive and depart daily, with nearly 2000 cars.

The company has, from president down, 44,000 employés. The average daily pay-roll is nearly $69,000; and last year the total pay-roll was nearly $25,000,000. The number of men, women, and children directly and indirectly dependent upon the company for a living is a little over 220,000. Last year the company carried 5363 tons of freight an hour, 128,711 tons a day, and a total in the year of 46,979,537 tons.

The total number of passengers carried last year was

40,677,313, an average per day of 111,445, and per hour of 4644. The company took into and out of Jersey City 5,336,319 passengers, a daily average of 14,620. From 1864 to 1886, inclusive, the Pennsylvania Company carried in round numbers 283,000,000 passengers.

This stupendous organization has grown up entirely within the knowledge of some men still connected with it, and from the humblest beginnings, and is a magnificent evidence of the power of human genius and the progress of our country. Yet there are several other systems scarcely inferior to it in the statistics. From these figures a better general idea can be obtained of the magnitude of our railroad system.

But the magnitude is not the only test to apply. We must consider the cost of moving freight, which is the lowest in the world; much less than European prices.

Again, consider the present track with its heavy steel rails and fish-plates; its solid stone-ballasted bed; its iron bridges or stone-arched bridges and viaducts; its wonderful system of switches, "block" stations, and signals made almost the acme of perfection, in conjunction with electrical appliances from the telegraph to the incandescent light; and the tanks from which water is taken while the engine is going at the highest rate of speed. It is but a few years since any of these appliances, and hundreds of others that may be named, were unknown. We well remember the thin iron rails, their battered ends failing to join neatly in the "chairs," producing the pounding "chuggety chug" noise we can recall.

We remember the little and inconvenient cars with high windows, big wood-stoves and wood-box, the two tallow candles, the hand-brakes, and the link and pin coupling; the cars in almost every instance being "odd-mated," and the coupling toggled up with chains, sticks of wood, and even with ropes. These cars were like egg-shells for crushing purposes and telescoping, as the bloody record of deaths by that cause will testify. Only eight years ago we rode in trains answering this description, on tracks that were little better than "two lines of rust," in the South, at the rate of 5 miles an hour, where now

trains of vestibule cars go sweeping over steel rails at from 45 to 50 miles an hour.

It is a splendid and thrilling sight to see one of these magnificent trains rushing along at 50 miles an hour, sometimes running 60 miles an hour, flying over the bridges, plunging into the tunnels from which it issues with a roar, gliding through peaceful pastoral lands, or among the black and blasted regions of the coal and iron countries. Now it is high in the air, hanging over a boiling flood, now deep down in the bowels of the mountain, anon dashing into and defying the storm and the darkness; on, on, never pausing in the wild flight across a continent, mountains, rivers, lakes, and plains.

And all the while the people in the cars read and gossip, and eat and drink, and sleep, and write, and knit, and smoke, and have and do almost everything they could in their own homes and hotels. Mothers are petting their babies; little ones are romping, or are saying their evening prayers at mother's knee before being curtained away in the luxurious couch; lovers are wooing; young married couples shyly "spooning;" "drummers" telling amazing yarns of which they are the heroes;—and all the time the great train is flying across the country like a meteor, emblematic, in its splendid perfection, its fierce energy, its irresistible onward rush, of the great American people themselves.

WATERWAYS.

Besides the artificial highways furnished by the railroads, we have the greatest system of natural waterways in the world, aided as it is by an elaborate canal system.

East of the Rocky Mountains we have a river-flow of more than 40,000 miles, counting no stream less than 100 miles in length, while Europe has but 17,000 miles. It is estimated that the Mississippi with its affluents affords 35,000 miles of navigation. A steamboat may pass up the Mississippi and Missouri 3900 miles from the Gulf, as far as from New York to Constantinople. Thus a vast system of natural canals carries our seaboard into the very heart of the continent.

Although the traffic of our waterways is not large, comparatively, the system of waterways under favorable conditions is able to exert a great influence in the regulation of internal transportation, which without the rivers would be in the hands entirely of the railroads, without competition. There is not another waterway system in the world to compare with the Mississippi. The number of square miles in the United States is 3,025,502, and the Mississippi system embraces an area of 1,238,642. Its navigable streams number 45, and furnish the people more than 16,000 miles of river navigation—a line more than four times the length of the ocean line from New York to Liverpool.

"The people of the United States possess in the Mississippi and its 44 navigable tributaries highways of commerce and cheap transportation to the seaboard of the commercial value of $2,000,000,000; that is to say, lines of railroad of equal length and tonnage with that river and its tributaries, if constructed at the usual expense of such improvements, would cost the people of the United States this enormous and almost incomprehensible sum, and these great water-ways capable of bearing to the markets of the country, and from thence to foreign ports the tonnage indicated, are free gifts of nature."

One third of the fresh water in the world is in our lakes, and we have the largest river in the world in the Mississippi, sweeping along its awful flood of 2,000,000 cubic feet per hour. We have a dozen or more rivers which permit navigation into the country to distances of from 150 to 200 miles, and steamships of 3000 tons burden ply upon our inland seas. These great natural waterways have been supplemented and connected with each other by artificial canals. There were in the United States in 1880 4468 miles of canals, which had cost $265,000,000. Nearly 2000 miles of canal had, however, been abandoned, having been rendered valueless by the superior facilities offered by railroads. Freight traffic in canals in 1880 amounted to 21,144,292 tons, yielding a gross income of $45,000,000.

The traffic upon the western rivers is immense, and we may consider some cases in point, though the matter properly comes

under the head of internal commerce. Of the Ohio River a well-known authority has stated that the total of its trade from its head at Pittsburgh to its mouth at New Cairo exceeded in 1874 $800,000,000. It is upon the Ohio that the cheapest transportation in the world exists. Coal, coke, and other bulky articles are transported at the rate of one twentieth of a cent per ton per mile.

The records of 1884 show that there were owned in the one city of Pittsburgh, for use on the Ohio, 4323 vessels, including barges, with a tonnage of 1,700,000. One hundred and sixty-three of these were steamboats. "Twenty thousand miles of navigable waterways lie before these Pittsburgh craft, and many thousand miles more are ready to be opened by easily-constructed improvements in the lesser streams. This work the General Government is steadily performing year after year, as well as improving the existing navigation. Even to-day a boat can start from Pittsburgh for a port 4300 miles distant, as far as from New York to Queenstown and half way back, or as far away as the Baltic ports are from New York."

To the tourist there is no grander scenery in the world than he finds along the banks of the rivers of America, and nowhere else exist such magnificent steamboats as ply upon those waters, floating palaces that make worthy companionship with the palace vestibule trains on land.

MINING.

With all the visible gifts with which Providence blessed this country, its limitless plains of rich soil, its great lakes, mighty rivers and innumerable harbors, its unequaled climate, the beneficent provision for building up the greatest nation and greatest people on the earth did not stop.

Under our soil, as well as upon it, nature placed riches untold, a wealth that has made us the foremost mining as we are the leading agricultural, pastoral, and manufacturing nation of the world.

From 1870 to 1880 we produced $732,000,000 of the precious metals. The United States now produces one half of the gold

and silver of the world's supply. Iron ore is to-day mined in twenty-three of our States. A number of them could singly supply the world's demand. Our coal-measures are simply inexhaustible. English coal-pits, already deep, are being deepened, so that the cost of coal-mining in Great Britain is constantly increasing, while we have coal enough near the surface to supply us for centuries. As one author puts it: "When storing away the fuel for the ages, God knew the place and work to do which he had appointed us, and gave us twenty times as much of this concrete power as to all the peoples of Europe."

Our mineral products (of all kinds) are of equal richness and variety. The remarkable increase from 1870 to 1880 places us at the head of nations. Our mining industries exceed those of Great Britain three per cent, and are greater than those of all continental Europe, Asia, Africa, South America, Mexico, and the British colonies collectively, and as yet we have hardly begun to develop these resources. While the farmers are gathering upon the surface a crop almost large enough to feed all the people upon the earth, the miners are bringing up from beneath the hidden riches of the earth, stored in quantities inexhaustible. Gold, silver, minerals of every description known to man, coal, iron, precious stones, clay, salt, and so on, in end less variety and abundance, these riches are stored beneath and are being brought to the surface to enrich mankind.

Nature, in her seeming eagerness to shower upon this land and this people blessings unprecedented and favors unlimited, does not rest with storing her good things to wait the toilsome burrowing of man. In her own way, with surface hints, in strong odors and oily smears and small blue flames, she suggests to man to probe the soil, and rewards him with rivers of oil and the flame and roar of natural gas. These she sends up to him freed from all toil of delving or pumping, fairly forcing upon him the vast supplies from her inexhaustible storehouse of riches.

She lays her coal and iron, in quantities sufficient to supply all the world, almost upon the surface, and combines with them all other products necessary for reduction and manufacture, and leads out from such locations the greatest and cheapest

system of water-transportation in the world. In places she puts, side by side, mountains of iron and mountains of coal and mountains of limestone, and laves their common base with rivers that give waterway communication to every part of the world, while in and out among the richly-stored hills wind the railroads, the iron arteries of land commerce. It is not in quantity and quality alone that nature has favored us, but in conditions and location she has added an hundredfold to her gifts, giving us facilities no other nation possesses, even to a single degree of comparison.

In 1845 we began to produce gold, and not until 1859 were our silver-mines discovered. Yet in the forty years up to 1886 we have taken out of the earth gold to the value of $1,718,348,301, and in only twety-nine years of silver-mining we have produced $748,893,760. From these two sources alone in the mining industry we have added to the wealth of the world $2,479,236,971. The total production of precious metals in all the countries of the earth from 1493 to 1879, including the enormous products of Mexico, Peru, and Potosi (Bolivia), was $10,802,329,343, of which the United States furnished $1,175,000,138. During the calendar year of 1886 we produced in gold and silver $86,190,500, and our total coinage was $57,703,413.

In the year 1886, from our coal area of 195,403 square miles, we produced 106,780,033 tons, according to Saward's estimate, England and America producing twice as much as all the rest of the world. According to the last census, we produced in 1880 70,481,426 tons, valued at $94,558,608. At the same time the total world's production was 405,988,554 tons of 2240 lbs. Our production of cast or pig iron was 6,433,851 tons, with 6,566,107 tons of steel ingots and 3,712,726 tons of rails.

Now, to enable us to more clearly comprehend the value of these productions, particularly those of gold and silver, let us make another practical illustration with the money in the Treasury, such as was given in the preliminary remarks.

When the figures for these illustrations were obtained the Treasury assets were $281,096,417 in gold and nearly $250,000,000 in silver. The weight of this $281,000,000 is, as

we said, 519 tons, and we have given an illustration of the cartage of this sum. Counted as gold, the surplus would weigh 86½ tons; counted as silver it would weigh 1385 tons. Each million of gold adds 3685 pounds to the surplus, and each million of silver adds 58,930 pounds. Applying cubic measurement to the Treasury gold and silver, and piling the two metals on Pennsylvania Avenue as cordwood is piled before delivery to the purchaser, we find that the gold would measure 37 cords and the silver 490 cords, and that both would extend from the Treasury Department to Four and a Half Street, or from the Treasury to the Pension Office in a straight line, and forming a solid wall eight feet high and four feet broad, the distance being eight long city squares.

As yet natural gas is too new a product, and its increase too great, to admit of giving definite figures concerning it; and if these figures could be given, they would be incomprehensible.

This new factor promises to be one of the most tremendous agents in the wealth-production of the world, and already is revolutionizing methods of manufacture and conditions that have long endured. As for petroleum, the value of our export alone of that prodnct in 1884 was over $625,000,000 The flow both of oil and gas goes on increasing year by year. As the United States furnishes one half of the annual gold product of the world, so she leads the world in the annual product of silver, viz., $46,200,000. At the present rate the close of the present decade will show that the United States has added $500,000,000 in silver to the world's wealth during the ten years.

America and Spain together furnish more than one half the total lead product, and the country ranks only third in the production of zinc, though a dozen of years ago very little was produced.

In copper production, as in gold and silver, the United States stands pre-eminent. One half the total product is furnished by her and Chili. To-day nearly seven times as much copper is produced as in 1860. We have increased our output from 650 tons in 1850 to over 63,000 in 1884. It is now much more, and this decade will double the product of 1880. One

mine furnishes nearly 40 per cent of the whole (Calumet and Hecla).

Our coal-field is twenty-five times as large as that of Great Britain, and is equal to three quarters of the coal-field area of the world. We have contributed one-half of all the world's gold, and we produce annually one-third the total silver. We furnish more than one fourth the copper-supply of the world, and the same proportion of the lead product. The mere statement of figures shows that in the matter of production the United States is already leading the world, but these figures give no hint of the great advance and improvement in all other ways that goes along with this enormous production of wealth. For instance, the mining and consumption of coal means force, power, energy for manufactures, transportation, and the creation of wealth. England now mines 160,000,000 tons of coal a year.

This applied to her machinery gives her the producing and wealth-creating capacity of 600,000,000 of men, though her population is less than 40,000,000.

In 1861 our output of coal was only 16,000,000 tons. In 1882, after twenty-one years of protective tariff, it had risen to 90,000,000 tons, being a gain of 462½ per cent. That means that the effective capacity of the machinery of this country, and its power to create wealth, are 5⅝ times what they were twenty-one years ago. Twenty years more of like progress, and our output of coal will exceed that of England or any other country on the globe, and will give us a capacity in productive machinery of at least 600,000,000 of human beings.

In a thousand ways the country is benefited by the mining industry, aside from the direct wealth of its products. The opening of mines, like the building of railroads, develops new regions and plants cities and villages, and builds up manufacturing and industrial communities. There are handsome cities with fine public buildings, paved streets and street-cars, schools and churches, and daily newspapers, standing to-day where twelve or fifteen years ago the only inhabitants were grizzlies and coyotes. There are cities in the South to-day that number their people by the thousands, and even tens of thousands,

that boast of broad streets and boulevards, electric and cable cars, hotels, public halls, churches and schools, telephones, electric lights, daily newspapers, half a dozen railroads, with a busy, pushing, prosperous people, where ten years ago there was hardly a house.

The private residences will compare with almost any in architecture and taste—as, for instance, the suburban homes of Birmingham, Ala., which in many cases already are in the midst of beautiful parks and private grounds. Such instances are almost numberless of the sudden upbuilding of cities about newly-discovered mines, and in each case an agricultural community springs up about it rapidly, to supply its needs, showing the blessing and even the necessity of a "home market" to agriculture; showing how dependent our industries are upon one another: that as one prospers, others are benefited; and likewise as one is injured, others suffer.

CONCLUSION.

In conclusion we may say that no one can deal with the subject of American progress without being painfully conscious of the futility of any attempt to convey an adequate idea of the vastness of the subject, the comparative character of the progress made, and the grandeur of the condition as it now exists.

Yet all this pales into insignificance before the distinct promise of what is to come, that looms up vast and awful as the specter of the Brocken.

It is no wonder that an English writer in a recent magazine article takes up the subject of the already gigantic greatness of the United States and raises the alarm that they will soon dominate the whole world; that even now they are almost at the point where they can make any demand upon England, and which they can enforce upon threat of shutting off the food-supply, and that they will soon be able to hold all the nations of the earth in subjection with peaceful weapons more forceful than armies and war-ships. It is no wonder that the Cobden

Club fights desperately to cripple and obstruct this portentous and colossal growth.

The figures we have been giving cover a period of high tariff for protection, as contrasted with the period of a revenue tariff; and he who runs may read the story of the influence of the protective policy. We give few arguments and deductions from the figures and facts set up. The average American intelligence will do that for itself, as it reads the record of what has been achieved.

So bold, far-seeing, and courageous was the Republican party, under whose control all this has come about, that it unhesitatingly, when it came into power, invested $3,000,000,000, and sacrificed lives innumerable, to decide the question without the solution of which no advance was possible, and the carrying on of the plan of the men who formed the Union would cease, and end in the old-world system of separate States and standing armies, pauper labor, and the continued settlement of all controversies by war.

The Democratic influence has always been in that direction. It never would trust the people.

It would not reduce postage for fear the receipts would not equal the expenditures of the post-office. It is impossible to estimate the benefits which have accrued to the Nation through this work, accomplished in spite of the opposition of the Democrats. They held that the great expense would deprive certain sections of mail facilities, as the government could not afford it. The friends of the measure held that the greater intelligence of the people of the free States would make up the deficiency by an increase in the number of letters. This puts fairly in contrast the two policies; one progressive, trusting and having confidence in the people; the other narrow, prejudiced, and judging the future by the long ago.

The latter policy could no more have conceived and set up our present banking system than a mole could make a mountain, a system of which the London *Times* says: "The genius of man has never invented a better system of finance than the national banking system of the United States." The Democrats in their tariff measures from 1846 to 1861, especially,

discriminated against, rather than in favor of, the mechanical industries of the United States.

The policy of granting land for homesteads and railroads has built up the most magnificent empire in the world. But the last act of Buchanan was to veto a homestead bill, and one of the first acts of Lincoln was to sign one. The figures given of the empire of the Mississippi Valley and the great West, and, indirectly, of the whole country, are sufficient tribute to the policy of giving "homes to the homeless" in the Homestead Act.

There are a thousand things as illustrative as the foregoing that we can hardly glance at in this sketch. One might as well attempt at a glance to note every brilliant point and combination in a mammoth kaleidoscope.

Let us, however, illustrate one splendid point, and that is the treatment by the Republicans of the debt they incurred to "solve the great problem." The public debt reached the highest point in August, 1865, when it was $2,381,530,295. The general reader will better appreciate the vastness of this sum when informed that it represents 70,156 tons of silver, which would make a procession of carts that would extend from Richmond, Va., to a point 12 miles north of Philadelphia, the distance it would thus cover being 266 miles.

The interest-bearing debt is (not including the Pacific Railroad bonds) $1,001,976,850, showing that the sum paid has been $1,379,553,445, or more than one half of the total amount, and representing 40,637 tons of silver dollars, which would extend 154 miles, if packed in carts containing one ton each.

Reducing these figures to a basis where they may be intelligently comprehended, and that the rapidity with which the government has reduced its bonded debt may be fully realized by the general reader, we find that the reduction has been at the average rate of $62,706,975 each year, $5,225,581 each month, $174,186 each day, $7258 each hour, and $120.47 for every minute of the entire time.

Pursuing the calculations to the smallest divisible space of time, the bonded debt of the United States has been decreased at the rate of $2.007 for every second, or for every swing of

the pendulum, for the entire period from August 31, 1865, to July 31, 1887. This is an exhibition of recuperation and material progress on the part of the country, and of sterling honesty and integrity on the part of the government and people, that is without parallel in the world's history.

Under a revenue tariff in 1857 the United States Treasury was empty, while $400,000,000 in gold, taken from the mines of California in the preceding eight years, had been sent to the British Empire; in 1887 the silver and gold have accumulated at home. In 1857 our money was in the hands of foreigners, our manufactories were suspended, our public works retarded, our private enterprises of different kinds abandoned, and thousands of useful laborers thrown out of employment and reduced to want. In 1887, under the system inaugurated by a Republican administration, the money remains in our own hands, our manufacturers are actively at work, private enterprises vigorously pushed, while the wage-workers are generally employed at remunerative wages.

Last year the expenses of Austria, England, France, Germany, Italy, Russia, and Spain were $22,000,000 more than their receipts; our receipts were $94,000,000 more than our expenses.: A well-known author says "The wealth of the United States is almost fabulous. It is more than enough to buy the Russian and Turkish empires, the kingdoms of Sweden and Norway, Denmark, and Italy together with Australia, South Africa, and all South America—lands, mines, cities, palaces, factories, ships, flocks, herds, jewels, moneys, thrones, sceptres, diadems, and all,—the entire possessions of a hundred and seventy-seven million people. Great Britain is by far the richest nation of the Old World, and our wealth far exceeds hers."

Estimates made by Chas. S. Hill, statistician of the Department of State, in evidence taken by the Tariff Commission, are as follows: Population—United States, 50,150,000; Great Britain, 34,505,000; France, 37,166,000; Germany, 45,367,000; Russia, 82,400,000; Austria, 39,175,000. Wealth—United States, $55,000,000,000; Great Britain, $45,000,000,000; France, $40,000,000,000; Germany, $25,000,000,000; Russia, $15,000,-

000,000; Austria, $14,000,000,000. Since that estimate our population has increased nearly ten million, and our wealth in proportion.

There is nothing to prevent our country sweeping onward and upward to the triumphal position awaiting her, higher and broader, and more glorious than we, even with this showing, can conceive of, except some stupid and wicked policy that shall throw down all barriers and let the hordes of the world in to prey upon her magnificence, as the Goths poured in and devastated the "Eternal City."

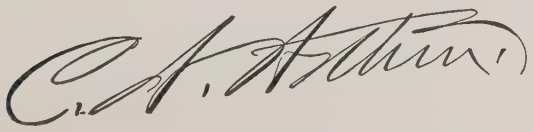
THE CIVIL SERVICE.

By Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, M. C. from Mass.

Two great Democratic leaders introduced the system which made the civil service of the country an election prize, and a Republican member of Congress struck the first blow against this system after forty years of habit had rooted it deeply in our political soil. Andrew Jackson practised and William L. Marcy formulated the doctrine that to the victors belong the spoils, and the two removals of John Quincy Adams's entire term rose to two thousand in the first ten months of the rule of the hero of New Orleans.

In 1867 Mr. Thomas Allen Jenckes of Rhode Island took up the subject of the civil service, and as chairman of the Joint Select Committee on Retrenchment made on May 25, 1868, an exhaustive report in which he showed the rapid growth of the civil service and depicted the evils and perils of the existing system of patronage and favoritism. The defects of the system had been brought to public notice years before, and had been attacked by Calhoun and Webster. But the only result of their efforts had been the introduction of "pass-examinations," which served perhaps to check the flow of absolute incompetency into the public service, but did not reach at all the root of the trouble. In the fierce struggle over slavery and in the shock of civil war minor questions of administration were lost sight of, and therefore the honor was reserved to Mr. Jenckes of being the first to take up the question thoroughly and scientifically, and to strike hard at the source of the existing evils.

Congress paid little or no attention to Mr. Jenckes. So fixed had the patronage system become, that this attack upon it was regarded as the eccentricity of an amiable enthusiast, and the author of the report found himself for the moment in that unenviable and not uncommon position known as "crying in the wilderness." Mr. Jenckes, however, kept on,



and outside of Congress that impalpable and all-powerful force known as public opinion began to awaken and take form and substance as to the civil service. So rapid was the growth of public sentiment, indeed, that President Grant in his message in 1870 called the attention of Congress to the subject, and in March, 1871, Mr. Tucker had the pleasure of drawing an amendment to an appropriation bill which gave the President authority to establish regulations for the admission of candidates to the civil service and for ascertaining their efficiency, authorized him to appoint a commission, and appropriated $25,000 for that purpose. The commission was appointed, with Mr. George William Curtis as its chairman; rules were adopted, and open competitive examinations were established in the Departments at Washington, in the custom-house and partly in the post office at New York.

At the end of two years the commission made a report showing by the testimony of the heads of Departments, and by other evidence, that the system had worked well despite many difficulties and obstacles, and that the service had been improved. Meantime Congress had given a second appropriation; but when President Grant transmitted the report of the commission and asked for another appropriation, they saw that the movement had passed beyond the bounds of amiable eccentricity, and they refused to give any more money. The result was, of course, disastrous. It was impossible to carry on the work without money, and General Grant, disappointed in his own efforts and refused support by Congress, frankly abandoned the whole policy. Not being given to sham and pretense, he gave up the new scheme squarely and avowedly, and the civil service relapsed into patronage and pass-examinations.

Outside of Washington, however, the agitation on this subject went on with fresh and increased vigor, and the subject was pressed with especial energy at the time of the Republican Convention in 1876. The result was seen in the fact that President Hayes favored the reform strongly in his letter of acceptance, and urged suitable legislation in his inaugural and in his messages. Congress took no action, but under the administration

of President Hayes the system of competitive examination for filling vacancies in the civil service was introduced in the Interior Department, and in the custom-house and post-office at New York. This was a purely administrative measure, and had no greater vitality than came from the good-will and the belief in the reform of persons who happened to be in office. Two facts, however, were demonstrated: one, that without the sanction of law the new system merely as an administrative measure could have no enduring strength; the other, that the system worked well in practice, tending to improve the quality of office-holders and greatly relieving the political pressure upon the appointing officers.

Meantime the outside agitation continued. Associations for the promotion of the new system were formed in different parts of the country and rapidly increased in number and in membership. Both parties declared for the reform in their platforms, and public opinion on the question gathered form and consistency. The efforts of the supporters of the reform became more concentrated and direct, and aimed at the enactment of laws which should regulate and fix the conditions of obtaining places under government.

The whole movement received, however, an enormous and tragic impulse from the murder of President Garfield by a man known to the public only as a disappointed office-seeker. Bills were introduced into Congress with a view of changing the existing system, but no action was taken upon them. The elections of 1882 gave, however, such vivid examples in certain instances of the activity of the civil-service reformers, and of a strong public opinion aroused by the crime of Guiteau, that Congress was spurred to immediate action. President Arthur had already pledged his support to the reform, and had asked for an appropriation; and now Congress took up the bill drawn by Mr. Dorman B. Eaton and introduced by Mr. Pendleton, whose name it bears, and passed it rapidly through all its stages. It was signed and became a law on the 16th of January, 1883. President Arthur at once appointed a commission which was headed by Mr. Dorman B. Eaton and composed of well-known friends of the reform. The law applied, roughly speaking, to

clerks in the Washington Departments, and in custom-houses and post-offices of a certain size. It went into immediate operation; it was vigorously and honestly sustained by President Arthur, and was thoroughly enforced by the various collectors, postmasters, and heads of departments. It speedily proved that the new system was a success, and where honestly enforced improved the service and did away with many of the evils of patronage.

Such was the condition of the civil-service question when the Republican party went out of power and when the Democrats came in in 1885. A great step had been taken and a great victory won. The principles of the new system which require the removal of the civil service from politics had been enacted into law. It will be observed that the first attack upon the patronage system was made by a Republican representative. The first message on the subject was written and the first commission appointed by a Republican President. Another Republican President was the first to put the new system in force as an administrative measure. The first civil-service law was passed by a Republican Congress and signed by a third Republican President, who honestly enforced it and gave it successful existence. There is no intention of implying by this that the Republican party was free from shortcomings in regard to the question of civil-service reform, or that all Republicans have been or are now civil-service reformers. The subject was a new one, and when brought forward by Mr. Jenckes was little understood, and was at variance with the traditions and practices of nearly forty years. The Republican party was the first to learn the lesson of the times in this respect; almost all those actively engaged in promoting the reform were Republicans, and a large majority of the party soon became and have remained steadfast friends of the reform. Some Democratic leaders and a small minority of the party were honestly favorable to the reform, but the great majority of the Democratic party were either indifferent or openly hostile to it. The proof of this lies in the fact, which can neither be denied nor explained away, that every affirmative act in advancing the reform, as a national policy, has been

the work of a Republican administration and a Republican Congress. During this period, too, and under Republican administrations political assessments on office-holders were given up and the civil servants were, in conformity with the spirit of the law, withdrawn from the business of political management.

It now remains to review the history of the reform since the Democratic party came into power. In the campaign of 1884 the question of civil-service reform played a conspicuous part in the Northern States, where alone elections turn on questions of public policy. Mr. Cleveland as Governor of New York had shown himself, despite some inconsistencies, a friend of the reform. His election was therefore urged more strenuously on this ground than on any other. A majority of the members of the civil-service associations were Republicans who left their party on account of the nomination of Mr. Blaine, and the same was true of the newspapers that most constantly advocated the reform. The "independents" both in the press and on the stump gave such small portion of their time and attention as was not devoted to purely personal politics and violent abuse of Mr. Blaine to urging the election of Mr. Cleveland, as in the direct interest of civil-service reform. Mr. Cleveland was elected, his term has nearly expired, and we are now in a position to see just what has been accomplished on this important question. In his letter of acceptance Mr. Cleveland pledged himself to the reform system of civil service, and denounced in the strongest terms the evils of the spoils system. After his election he wrote to Mr. George William Curtis:

"I am not unmindful of the fact to which you refer, that many of our citizens fear that the recent party change in the national executive may demonstrate that the abuses which have grown up in the civil service are ineradicable. I know that they are deeply rooted and that the spoils system has been supposed to be intimately related to success in the maintenance of party organization, and I am not sure that all those who profess to be the friends of this reform will stand firmly among its advocates when they find it obstructing their way to patronage and place. But fully appreciating the trust committed to

my charge, no such consideration shall cause a relaxation on my part of an earnest effort to enforce this law.

"If I were addressing none but party friends, I should deem it entirely proper to remind them that, though the coming administration is to be Democratic, a due regard for the people's interest does not permit faithful party work to be always rewarded by appointment to office; and to say to them that while Democrats may expect all proper consideration, selections for office, not embraced within the civil-service rules, will be based upon sufficient inquiry as to fitness, instituted by those charged with that duty, rather than upon persistent importunity or self-solicited recommendations on behalf of candidates for appointment."

In his inaugural address delivered March 4, 1885, he made the following declarations of his views as to reform:

"The people demand reform in the administration of the government and the application of business principles to public affairs. As a means to this end, civil-service reform should be in good faith indorsed. Our citizens have the right to protection from the incompetency of public employés who hold their places solely as the reward of partisan service, and from the corrupting influence of those who promise and the vicious methods of those who expect such rewards; and those who worthily seek employment have the right to insist that merit and competency shall be recognized instead of party subserviency or the surrender of honest political belief."

In his first annual message to Congress, delivered December 8, 1885, he said:

"I am inclined to think that there is no sentiment more general in the minds of the people of our country than a conviction of the correctness of the principle upon which the law enforcing civil-service reform is based.

"Experience in its administration will probably suggest amendment of the methods of its execution, but I venture to hope that we shall never again be remitted to the system which distributes public positions purely as rewards for partisan service. Doubts may well be entertained whether our government could survive the strain of a continuation of this system,

which upon every change of administration inspires an immense army of claimants for office to lay siege to the patronage of the Government, engrossing the time of public officers with their importunities, spreading abroad the contagion of their disappointment, and filling the air with the tumult of their discontent.

"The allurements of an immense number of offices and places exhibited to the voters of the land, and the promise of their bestowal in recognition of partisan activity, debauch the suffrage and rob political action of its thoughtful and deliberative character. The evil would increase with the multiplication of offices consequent upon our extension, and the mania for office-holding, growing from its indulgence, would pervade our population so generally that patriotic purpose, the support of principle, the desire for the public good, and solicitude for the Nation's welfare would be nearly banished from the activity of our party contests and cause them to degenerate into ignoble, selfish, and disgraceful struggles for the possession of office and public place.

"Civil-service reform enforced by law came none too soon to check the progress of demoralization.

"One of its effects, not enough regarded, is the freedom it brings to the political action of those conservative and sober men who, in fear of the confusion and risk attending an arbitrary and sudden change in all the public offices with a change of party rule, cast their ballots against such a change."

He wrote in the same spirit to Mr. Eaton, the head of the civil-service commission, and spoke in like fashion in an interview in the *Boston Herald* in January, 1885. The most bitter opponents could find no fault with these utterances, except to say, perhaps, "Methinks he doth protest too much." Let us now see how these noble declarations have been carried out in practice. At first the new administration moved slowly, and retained here and there some prominent Republican officer whose name was identified with civil-service reform. Thereupon premature pæans of praise went up from the civil-service associations, who informed every one that at last they had a true civil-service-reform administration. The pæans con-

tinued for a long time,—they have only recently been hushed into silence,—but the policy of the administration quickly changed as the Democratic party became settled in the government. The first open attack on the reform was the circular of Mr. Vilas asking for charges of "offensive partisanship" against postmasters, so that he might have an excuse for their removal. No more petty and more miserable sham to effect a mean purpose was ever employed for the sake of seizing the spoils of office. The President, however, was silent, the pæans of the professional civil-service reformers still rose to heaven, and the changes began. It would extend this article unduly to follow out the work in detail.

The following table made up to June 11, 1887, which I borrow, together with many other suggestions, from the very able speech of Senator Hale upon the civil service in January last, shows compactly the work of a little more than two years.

Offices.	Whole number of places.	Places filled by Cleveland.
Presidential postmasters (estimated)	2,359	2,000
Fourth-class postmasters (estimated)	52,609	40,000
Foreign ministers	33	32
Secretaries of legation	21	16
Consuls	219	138
Collectors of customs	111	100
Surveyors of customs	33	33
Naval officers of customs	6	6
Appraisers, all grades	36	34
Superintendents of mints and assayers	13	11
Assistant treasurers at subtreasuries	9	9
Collectors of internal revenue	85	84
Inspectors of steam-vessels	11	8
District attorneys	70	65
Marshals	70	64
Territorial judges	30	22
Territorial governors	9	9
Pension agents	18	16
Surveyors-general	16	16
Local land officers	224	190
Indian inspectors and special agents	10	9
Indian agents	59	51
Special agents, General Land Office	83	79
Total	56,134	42,992

On July 1st of the same year the Civil Service Record of Boston announced that the percentage of removals in the unclassified service of the Interior Department had risen to 90 per cent. This may have been an extreme case at that time, because the head of that department, Mr. Lamar, had been strongly eulogizing Mr. Calhoun for his opposition to the spoils system, but there can be no doubt that in the year which has elapsed since this table was prepared changes have gone on with accelerating rapidity. The best estimates put the number of changes at this time (May, 1888) at 50,000; and when we add the petty officers dependent on these 50,000 thus changed directly by the administration, we have a total of at least 100,000 offices which have been taken as spoils by the new reform government in three years. There are probably not 5000 officers outside the classified service who still hold over from the former administrations.

The present reform administration has carried out the spoils doctrine with a thoroughness that would have satisfied Jackson himself. The law still protects the 15,000 classified offices it was designed to cover, but in some cases it has been evaded, and in others so notoriously disobeyed as to call for an investigation.

The results of this greedy haste in seizing upon the offices are apparent already, although the time which has elapsed since the work began is so short. The Maryland appointments have been so scandalous, and the whole service in that State has been so debauched, that it has attracted the attention of the Nation. In Indiana it has been almost as bad, and in that State the public service in all its branches there has been seriously crippled. In Chicago and Philadelphia scandals in the government service have called for official investigation, and the New York custom-house has greatly deteriorated. Throughout the country and in the diplomatic service there have been appointments which are in the highest degree discreditable, and show that the spoils system when carried out in the name of reform is, like most hypocrisies, much worse than the vice itself practised without disguise. Of the first seven territorial judges selected by Mr. Cleveland, five within a week were publicly de-

nounced as "morally and professionally unfit," and three of the five have since been retired for misconduct.

A list of objectionable appointments made during the first half of the Presidential term showed that fifty-nine have been of persons who have been convicted or indicted for various crimes—ten have been concerned in political crimes, three deserters and one expelled from the United States Senate, three disqualified from office for violation of oaths, three, the tools of persons so disreputable that they could not hold office, and six more, of whom three were appointed to enforce the internal-revenue laws, were either themselves liquor-sellers or attorneys of liquor-sellers. To these are to be added sixty-one notorious political hacks.

In a word, the spoils system in its worst form is once more supreme in the patronage offices, and the civil-service law is imperfectly enforced in the classified service. These facts are beyond denial. The Maryland and Indiana civil-service associations with entire honesty and courage denounced the course of the administration more than two years ago. Very recently such extreme Cleveland partisans as Mr. Curtis and Mr. Godkin have admitted in their newspapers that in civil-service reform the administration has failed, and on May 7th, the New York civil-service association declared that "in those positions not covered by the civil-service rules the changes have gone on with such steadiness that the hopes cherished during the early days of the administration of a substantial gain during its term in the general stability of the service have not been justified by the results."

The only offset to all this has been the repeal of the tenure of office act by the 49th Congress through the efforts of Senator Hoar and Governor Long, who introduced and suceessfully advocated bills for that purpose in the House and Senate.

There has been also great injury to the cause of the reform in other and more general ways. Headquarters were opened in Washington and money collected by fifty-cent subscriptions for the benefit of the Democratic campaign in New York last fall. Mr. Cleveland set the example by sending a check to the Democratic State Committee, and by writing a letter in be-

half of one of the Democratic candidates. It is the first time, I believe, that a President has so far forgotten the dignity of his great office as to interfere publicly in a local election of a district attorney. This general demoralization grows, of course, by what it feeds upon, and this spring an order has gone out from one of the heads of bureaus in Washington directing each postmaster to return the names and party relations of each voter in his town or city. This converts the whole vast body of postmasters into a great canvassing committee, and makes these public officers a part of the Democratic machine.

The result has been seen in Democratic conventions, both State and National, filled and controlled by Federal office-holders.

Civil-service reform has been grievously injured by Democratic ascendency, and by the insincerity of the Cleveland worshipers in the reform associations. It will survive the blow if the present administration is not re-elected, for the new system rests on the sound business principle of taking the routine offices of the government out of politics. That is the whole of civil-service reform. Competitive examinations are merely the means and not the end of the reform. The purpose is to substitute some fair, impartial, and mechanical test for favoritism and patronage, which are both thoroughly un-American and mere survivals and imitations of the fashions of aristocratic and despotic governments. Progress toward these objects must be made by legislation. An individual in high administrative office can throw his influence for civil-service reform, but it may well be doubted if any President or head of Department can administer patronage offices otherwise than by patronage. If Mr. Cleveland had frankly said that he would administer the patronage offices by patronage wisely and honestly bestowed, and the classified service according to law, it would have been difficult to assail his position. But he made loud and high-sounding pledges and promises as to the civil service generally, and has broken them all without withdrawing one of his pretentious declarations. At the same time he has allowed the law to be weakened and evaded, political assess-

ments to be renewed, and civil-service officers to become a controlling faction in the political machine.

The Republican party is pledged to extend the reform. The Democratic National convention passed this great question by in contemptuous silence. The Republican party has again adopted the resolution of 1884 which was drawn by Mr. George William Curtis. Thus the issue is fairly and distinctly made up.

Every solid step thus far taken has been by a Republican Congress or a Republican administration. The only chance for the extension of the principles of the reform lies in the return of the Republican party to power. Whatever its shortcomings, it is the author of all that has been practically accomplished for the new system, and to it we must look for further progress in the future by means of additional legislation.

The following table shows the manner in which the Republican party as compared with the Democratic party collected and disbursed the national revenues.

RATIOS OF DEMOCRATIC DEFALCATIONS COMPARED WITH REPUBLICAN HONESTY.

Administration.	Period of Service.	Total.			Total.			Recapitulations.		
		Receipts.	Losses.	Loss on $1,000.	Disbursements.	Losses.	Loss on $1,000.	Amount involved.	Total losses.	Loss on $1,000.
	Years.									
Washington	8	$56,448,721	$210,551	$3.72	$55,426,822	$38,497	$0.69	$112,560,503	$250,970	$2.22
Adams	4	46,085,418	42,249	.91	43,811,926	190,950	4.35	90,733,611	335,411	2.59
Jefferson	8	108,238,977	287,260	2.65	107,686,311	303,834	2.82	219,072,736	603,467	2.75
Madison	8	266,246,514	294,975	1.10	255,105,106	1,855,446	7.27	526,764,049	2,191,660	4.16
Monroe	8	178,649,964	629,946	3.52	188,437,779	2,492,535	13.22	376,328,274	3,229,787	8.58
Adams	4	97,818,054	332,953	3.40	97,264,000	513,829	5.28	201,488,077	885,374	4.39
Jackson	8	255,182,775	1,412,387	5.53	223,546,040	2,306,236	10.31	500,081,747	3,761,111	7.52
Van Buren	4	129,948,548	392,328	3.01	137,094,438	2,899,653	21.15	285,337,949	3,343,792	11.71
Harrison, Tyler	4	116,736,004	429,981	3.68	109,187,401	1,133,242	10.37	244,590,156	1,565,903	6.40
Polk	4	201,857,508	18,109	.08	205,194,700	1,712,169	8.34	423,913,687	1,732,851	4.08
Taylor, Fillmore	4	211,908,612	276,270	1.30	194,370,493	1,485,192	7.64	432,861,676	1,814,409	4.19
Pierce	4	282,179,829	213,001	.75	285,638,875	1,674,852	5.86	608,257,815	2,167,982	3.56
Buchanan	4	312,359,679	194,003	.62	328,183,268	2,292,825	6.98	697,500,870	2,659,107	3.81
Lincoln	4	4,670,460,137	508,593	.70	4,667,457,921	6,590,022	1.41	9,386,637,144	7,200,984	.76
Johnson	4	4,042,316,438	2,562,721	.63	3,891,576,259	1,889,641	.48	8,014,908,084	4,619,509	.57
Grant	8	5,318,698,324	1,189,139	.22	5,287,604,645	1,138,541	.21	10,842,922,583	2,622,478	.24
Hayes	2	1,728,979,907	None.	None.	1,557,034,964	1,383	.00	3,353,629,855	2,676	$\frac{8}{10}$ mill.
		18,024,115,418	8,994,375	.49	17,634,620,963	28,527,857	1.61	36,317,639,725	38,887,568	1.07
Prior to June 30, 1861		2,263,660,610	4,734,020	2.09	2,230,947,173	18,899,268	8.47	4,719,481,157	24,441,829	5.17
July 1, 1861, to June 30, 1879		15,760,454,807	4,260,355	.27	15,403,673,790	9,628,589	.62	31,598,158,567	14,445,739	.46

THE NEW SOUTH.

By Hon. John S. Wise, of Virginia.

"Out of the eater came forth meat,
And out of the strong came forth sweetness."

THE earliest recorded triumph of Samson was when he went down into the vineyards of Timnath in the land of the Philistines and, unarmed, slew a young roaring lion. The story runs that after a time Samson returned to view the carcass of the lion, and behold there was a swarm of bees and honey within the carcass. This was the occasion of his giving forth, at his wedding-feast, the famous riddle which heads this article.

The earliest recorded triumph of the Republican party was its battle with, and conquest of, that young roaring lion, African Slavery. If Republicanism could be personified and return to behold the carcass of the victim in the South, it would, like Samson of old, find that carcass filled with a swarm of busy bees, and teeming with the honey of diversified industries unknown to it in the dreamy days of slavery.

I am not sure that my simile is original. It seems to me that some one else has used the same. Who, if any one, I do not know. But whether it be original or not, I will appropriate it.

Two great ideas were born at the same time that our Federal Government was created by the Convention of 1787. One was the National Idea, the other the Federal or States-rights Idea. Very soon the advocates of the national idea adopted the name of Federalists, and the States-rights advocates became known as Republicans or Democrats. From that time until this, under changing names, the two ideas have been respectively the basis of party organization in the two leading parties, although the Federalists have at last assumed the name of Republicans, and the States-rights advocates have fallen back upon the simple name of Democracy.

Both parties, as they were originally formed, professed faith

in and attachment to the Union, but in the "strict construction" party at the outset was to be found every man who opposed the formation of the Union. And in both have been found, from the first, men who have pressed their respective theories far beyond the bounds of reason. But a study of the history of the Federalist party plainly discloses that in its struggles for supremacy it has always shown more regard for the preservation of the autonomy of the States than has been shown for the preservation of the Union by those who have put the idea of States rights above that of Union.

In their origin these two conflicting ideas were not sectional. Ultra Federalists were abundant in the South, and theoretical secessionists and nullifiers were to be found in the North. In time, local interests and the surroundings of men, those most powerful of all molders of opinion, consigned the national idea to the domain of the North, and the States-rights doctrine recognized the South as its true habitat. Negro slavery produced this territorial array of opinion. As it, almost alone, gave rise to the supremacy of the "strict-construction" theory in the South, I propose to show that with the abolition of slavery has died almost every reason why the South should longer adhere to that idea, and that, following the abolition of slavery, many reasons have arisen why the South should, above any other section of our country, become the advocate of a liberal construction of Federal powers.

In the Federal Convention of 1787, when parties first became arrayed upon these ideas, the Southern States had a powerful and eloquent representation favoring the national idea. The conception of one Incorporate Union in lieu of the old Articles of Confederation originated no less with Messrs. Randolph and Madison of Virginia than with Mr. Hamilton and other Northern men. Mr. Randolph's plan, known as the "Virginia plan," which was first adopted by the convention and afterwards voted down, conferred much more power on the Federal Government than any of the other plans submitted. It was supported by Southern representatives, and its opponents were from Connecticut, New Jersey, and other Northern States. They insisted that it was too national.

The plan ultimately agreed upon was that presented by Mr. Pinckney of South Carolina. Hamilton and Jay of the North, Washington and Madison of the South, became its most eloquent advocates. The Union was as much the work of the South as of the North. The most splendid appeal for the perpetuity of the Federal idea to be found in our language is the Farewell Address of George Washington, a Southern man. And this feeling was most natural. The South had played a conspicuous part, not only in the achievement of our liberties, but in all the proceedings which brought about the Government of the United States. Her representatives aided in drafting our Constitution, and counseled its adoption. Her people rejoiced in the consummation of the scheme, and re-echoed the sentiments of Washington that it was a compact of perpetual union. At that day slavery had not become the all-controlling power, and sectionalism, its legitimate concomitant, had not taken absolute possession, as it did later, of the advocates and opponents of the States-rights theory.

Mr. Jefferson of Virginia, the ablest and most powerful strict-constructionist of his day, was an abolitionist. Yet at the same time he was a man whose views on the affairs of the Union were as broad as those of the most pronounced Federalist. The Federal idea never had a more eloquent expounder than Virginia's John Marshall, Chief-Justice of the United States. Indeed, Virginia was the natural home of a love of the Union and of those views which favored a broad and liberal construction of the Constitution.

The slavery question became dominant very soon after the Union was formed. It arose with more violence at the admission of each new State, and every agitation intensified the sectional feeling. The South was wedded to slavery. It felt that slavery was safe so long as Federal power was limited and circumscribed and the absolute control of domestic affairs left to the States. It felt that the one danger to slavery from Federal power was from the free States acquiring a preponderance of power in Congress through the admission of new States, which would enable them to pass laws enlarging Federal jurisdiction.

The North, on the other hand, chafed, and was indignant that the power and growth of the Nation should be retarded, and all things subordinated to, and allowed to advance only at even pace with, slavery. The slave power was in the ascendant for half a century, and right jealously and dictatorially did it hug the States-rights idea as the sheet-anchor of slavery.

It is proper enough for philanthropists to say that slavery was wrong and was a curse. Grant it. But until human nature is framed upon a higher model than that of the present, the man who is hereditary owner of slaves, in the enjoyment of the luxury which their possession brings to him, will not see it either as a sin or as a curse, and will not voluntarily yield up his wealth to an abstract principle.

If the climate of the North had suited slavery, and the conditions of the two sections, as they were, had been reversed, I have no doubt in my own mind that the political views of the people of the two sections on slavery, and their consequent States-rights notions, would have been reversed also. We are very much alike, and all creatures of circumstances governed by our surroundings. None of us are as much better than the others as we are wont to think ourselves.

Whether slavery was right or wrong, it was very comfortable for the slave-owner, and he was the only one in that section who had a voice as to whether it should be abolished. It is all very well to say he pursued a ruinous system of agriculture. Grant that he did not make as much as he might have done. Still he made enough to support his slaves, and furnish himself in luxury. Only one family was to be made luxurious where many contributed to that end. It was easy to waste a great deal and yet do that. We may say that he had no schools. He did not want them. White population was sparse even if he had desired to educate his "poor white" dependents. He did not. He owned the slaves, and it was better for his interests that poor whites should not be so elevated as to become independent of him, their patron. As for his sons and daughters, his wealth enabled him to employ the best of private tutors, and to send them to Europe and the universities.

We may say that he had no manufactures. He could not

afford to have them. It was bad policy to cultivate slave intelligence to the point of making a slave a skilled manufacturer, and it was worse policy to introduce free skilled labor into a slave community. This made the people of the slave-holding States free-traders of necessity. When the American system was first propounded, Mr. Calhoun was very much captivated with it. He knew his community were great cotton-producers, and he, at first, conceived that under a system of protection they might become great manufacturers also. But in a little while Mr. Calhoun perceived that slavery and manufactories could not coexist. He realized that agriculture, and agriculture alone, was the true field for slave labor, and so he abandoned his protection ideas and became a free-trader of the most pronounced sort, on the erroneous theory that a purely agricultural community, as his must remain, derived no benefit from the protection of manufactured goods. Thus it was that slavery warped all ideas of public policy by its overwhelming pressure.

We may say that the old South had no railroads and means of intercommunication. She did not want them. It was better to incur difficulties in moving her crops away than to have such commercial facilities as would fill the land with prying eyes of strangers, and the atmosphere with the spirit of the outside world of freedom.

To concede power in the Federal Government to aid in education, to improve rivers and harbors, to build railroads and make internal improvements, was to cultivate a notion of vigor and vitality of Federal power always liable to culminate in encroachments dangerous to slavery. Was the Southern slave-holder, then, simple in his fierce contention for strict construction? No. Far from it. He had a possession of untold wealth and luxury; one that anybody holding it would have struggled to retain. And yet a delicate and dangerous possession, liable to be wrenched from him at any time by the jealousy or philanthropy of others. He was, numerically speaking, in a pitiable minority. And yet, surrounded by all sorts of dangers and difficulties, without any real moral support, with all the odds against him, he managed to maintain his suprem-

acy for three quarters of a century, and died with his boots on fighting for its continuance. It is becoming common nowadays to speak of the old slave-holder as if he was not shrewd. His hospitality, his luxury, his arrogance, his bravery—all these are admitted. But by many he is classed as weak, thriftless, and impracticable.

I hold that no idea is more radically erroneous. The old slave-holder was as shrewd as any down-east Yankee. He held himself together surprisingly long in a difficult situation, and displayed a keen judgment all the while as to which was the path of danger and which of safety. He declared the largest dividend on the smallest capital ever declared by any one in business, and is entitled for his long-successful battle against overwhelming numbers and prejudices to be classed with the shrewdest and most successful of our people.

The question remaining to be determined now is whether the Southern people will, in their new situation, show the same shrewdness and adaptability since the abolition of slavery that they showed while defending it.

Their being Democrats, strict-constructionists, and free-traders during the days of slavery showed their keen appreciation of the demands and necessities of slavery. Their alliance with the Democracy immediately after the conclusion of the war was not only their natural position as against the Republican party, which had freed their slaves, but was brought about and encouraged by a feeling (in fact false, however) that the Democracy, being out of power, had been in some sort their friends during the struggle. The feeling that they had something to expect from a triumph of the Democracy over their old enemy, the Republican party, was hard to argue against, until the Democracy triumphed and the New South realized by actual experience how little that undefined something was.

The South is not Democratic because of any innate jealousy and antagonism towards the Union.

Whatever prejudice existed there at any time against the Union was the result of apprehension for the safety of their property in slaves. In the old States which were of the original thirteen the spirit of secession and disunion was against every

tradition and teaching, and only stimulated by the presence of slavery. Even that was not strong enough to destroy the feeling altogether. In the Southern States, bought with Federal money from European despots, or conquered with the blood of the Nation, it is almost impossible to conceive how, even under the influence of selfish fear and alarm for their slave property, they could discover a right to "resume sovereignty" as against the United States, when they never possessed any until the Federal Government breathed the breath of life into their nostrils.

But, without discussing the reasoning upon which they acted, there is little doubt that their action, hostile to the Federal idea, was begotten solely by slavery, and that with slavery gone forever the New South is freed from the only malign influence which could make the citizen of Virginia, Carolina, or Louisiana less loyal to, or proud of, or broad in his construction of the Federal Constitution than the citizen of Massachusetts or of Pennsylvania.

The Democratic party cannot, therefore, in the future, as in the days of slavery, count confidently upon unanimity of advocacy of strict-construction views in the South; nor need the Republican party despair of a deep Federal feeling there. On the contrary, the tide is setting strongly towards Federal ideas, and the once insuperable barrier of slavery no longer restrains its flow.

The New South is really Republican. I do not refer to the fact that if the vote were honestly counted it would show Republican results. I mean that the men who are voting with, and assenting to the stuffing of ballot-boxes for the Democracy to-day are really Republicans in their views, and being such will vote the Republican ticket as soon as they learn what it takes a little time to teach them, that they cannot give effect to those views in the Democratic party; and as soon as they overcome some lingering prejudices against the name of Republican and the negro voter. All that is necessary to win them ultimately to Republicanism is a broad policy of conciliation. It is idle to say we do not want them. We do. To succeed in the South the Republican party must have more white men than

she has ever yet had. So long as the whites are banded together in the South in the Democratic party they will control. They are ready to die before they will yield their government to the negroes, whether under the name of Republicans or Democrats; and until the Republican party can sufficiently recruit itself from the white voters in the South to deprive its victories there of the aspect of a triumph of blacks over whites, it had as well stop trying to succeed; for by fair means or foul, by trickery or by violence, the whites will frustrate negro domination. I do not state this fact approvingly, but state it as it is.

There is no trouble about getting this accession of white voters with a proper management.

We have principles in exact accord with the needs of the New South, and a thousand times more attractive than those of the Democracy. The people of the South are becoming eminently practical, and applying themselves to all sorts of new enterprises. The passions and prejudices of slavery and war are fast dying out. The feeling is in favor of a to-day and a to-morrow broad as a continent, and against a yesterday narrow as a section. As they feel that way themselves, they are repelled from a party that insists on past recollections and sectionalism. True, they are in such an one now, but they are not satisfied with it; and as the Republican party becomes more broadly national in spirit, thousands, nay, hundreds of thousands in the New South, who have heretofore been Democrats rather from circumstances and surroundings than from choice, will flock to its standard.

The Republican party struck at the root of the extreme jealousy of the Union in the South when it abolished slavery. With that went the only real feeling against the Union. By its triumph in arms it not only destroyed the motive but the hope. It demonstrated the *impossibility* of such a thing as secession.

But it went farther. With the power in its hands to push its triumphs far beyond the worst fears of the South; with the Southern States prostrate at its feet, it has proved to these people, who had been taught by the ultra States-rights politicians to expect an annihilation of State rights whenever Re-

publicanism triumphed, that they had been duped and deceived by their own leaders; for no sooner was the war ended than the Supreme Court of the United States, a creature of Federal power, composed almost entirely of Republicans, solemnly declared, in the famous Slaughter-house cases, that the war had not been waged for the annihilation of State sovereignty; that it had not destroyed the autonomy of the States; and that, with the exception of the amendments bestowing new citizenship and suffrage, the war had effected no organic change, and States were as sovereign as ever.

These decisions rendered by Republican tribunals at a time when the Republican party had the unquestioned power to decide anything it saw fit and enforce it, and followed as they have been for years by a series of other decisions recognizing States rights, and placing the doctrine upon a firmer and more intelligent basis than was ever done by the so-called party of States rights, have profoundly astonished the Southern masses, who had been studiously educated to fear that the Republican party in power would destroy their State governments, and build upon their ruins a consolidated central government in which the States were to be dwarfed to utter insignificance. With the departure of their fears has come, not only a feeling of respect for the conservatism of Republicanism, but a feeling of resentment against those who excited their alarm so falsely.

Time must elapse in every case of revolutions such as the Republican party wrought in the whole social and political organization of the South, before those in whose affairs they are effected, against their supreme protest, can be brought to realize that the change was a blessing and a benefit.

It was idle at first to tell the bleeding and impoverished South that her desolated homes, her new-made graves, her vanquished armies, her enfranchised slaves, her dead hope of independence, her poverty, and the long and weary struggle for recuperation that lay before her, were all blessings in disguise. If they were in fact, the only way to teach her was to let her learn it for herself, and confess it when the bitterness of her defeat and disappointment was past. Could she have

seen it then, and she could not, her pride and her pain would have made her refuse to confess it.

But the time has come when she has learned that she is happier in the Union than she ever could have been out of it; that the emancipation of her slaves was an emancipation of their owners as well from a narrow, limited, and unevenly developed civilization; that her poverty has quickened what else had been a languid energy, and taught her both the dignity and the limitless possibilities of labor, whereas she once looked down upon and despised it as menial.

The time has come when the Southern people begin to realize that she has passed through fire and blood not in vain, but inevitably for an all-wise purpose; and that what has happened was necessary to make her present regeneration possible. The feeling now is almost universal that by reason of what has passed she is in condition to attain and is attaining a degree of wealth, civilization, importance, and prosperity which was impossible under old conditions. This feeling is not only revolutionizing all the old feelings and prejudices of the South, but is bringing her people to the views if not to the name of Republicans. With the principles of Republicanism once espoused, taking the name and allying themselves with that party is only a matter of time.

Take, for example, the tariff question. In the days of slavery the South had no manufactures. But what do we behold there now?

No sooner were her people forced to abandon slave agriculture than all sorts of industries sprung up. In Virginia, coal and iron industries rivaling those of Pennsylvania, mining towns, furnaces, railroads, granite quarries, mills, and factories. In Georgia, every branch of manufacturing, from the most important railroad enterprises to patent medicines of national reputation. In Alabama and Tennessee, the development of a wonderful juxtaposition of coal and iron that has turned their sedge-patches into cities where town-lots sell as high as in Wall Street. And even in South Carolina we find her competing, with her cotton fabrics, for the markets of Shanghai. In this land which a quarter of a century back knew nothing but cor-

duroy roads and water-transportation, railroad-building is progressing with a rapidity putting the busy West to its mettle to keep apace, and the New South is a perfect network of iron. The first fruit of all this is what? Will these "infant industries" submit to free trade? No. Have no fear that they will long consent to remain in the party of "a tariff for revenue only." Older and well-established manufacturing communities may be silent; but, with the enthusiasm of youth, the voice of the New South, the South which was but yesterday the free-trade South, is clamorous for protection.

As yet she has not learned that to have protection she must be Republican. She has been so long Democratic that she still hopes to reconcile impossibilities, and thus it is that the Southern protectionist deludes himself by calling himself a "Randall Democrat." When he learns, what Mr. Randall has long since ascertained, that a protection Democrat is one in a hopeless minority of his party, and that he must always sacrifice his protection principles and remain in the background for the privilege of the name of Democracy, the Southern protectionist, having more regard for his pecuniary interest than for the name, will go into the Republican party as the only hope of carrying out his views. A Randall Democrat is a brevet Republican, and all such, except Mr. Randall, will ultimately be in full commission.

It was difficult to teach the Southern protectionist that he had no hope from Democracy when out of power. But now in power their purpose to force free trade upon the country ultimately is seen in their every act, and is having its effect.

As an illustration: Coal has become a great industry in the Democratic States of Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, and Alabama. Thousands of men engaged in the coal trade in those States are Democrats, but their livelihood is dependent upon its protection. The Canadian fishery treaty was lately promulgated. It contained not a syllable about coal. But in the debates in the Canadian Parliament, and in the Canadian newspapers and our own, it was stated freely that, although there was no written stipulation, there was a verbal understanding at the time the treaty was consummated that Mr. Cleve-

land's administration would use its influence to have "coal, lumber, and salt" put upon the free-list. Although this statement has been given great publicity, I have seen no denial of its truth. On the contrary, the message of President Cleveland gives countenance to it, and the Mills tariff bill at its 130th line, as if in pursuance of the agreement, declares that all mineral or other substances in a crude state shall be admitted duty free. In further corroboration of the statement, the Treasury circulars for March direct customs officers to admit all coals with 20 per cent or less of carbon duty free, classed as anthracite. Now it is known that anthracite has really but 8 per cent, and that the sub-carbons of Pennsylvania, and the Maryland, West Virginia, Virginia, and other Southern coals, none of them run higher than from 12 to 17 per cent. Thus we behold the Democratic administration straining the construction of our present laws, which admit anthracite coals free, so as to admit other coals which are far below the anthracite standard into duty-free competition with our own protected products. This is but one of many instances of the same policy. With such a spirit manifest in the Democracy in all things, with a direct pecuniary interest against free trade, I think there is no doubt whatever that the growing manufacturing interests in the New South will find themselves forced very soon to array themselves with their true friends, the Republican party, out of sheer self-protection.

Again: The South must be with us on the internal-revenue question.

Nowhere is the excise tax so odious as there. It was denounced by the Democracy as a Republican measure so long as the Republicans were in power. Hatred of it by our people, and the promise of its repeal as soon as Democracy was installed, made thousands of Democratic votes in the South. It ought to be repealed. It would have been repealed if the Republicans had remained in power. President Arthur made it the subject of a special message to the Forty-eighth Congress, recommending its repeal. The Democratic masses of the South made the promise of its immediate and unconditional repeal the basis of their support of the party all through the

South. Yet there it stands, and there it will stand so long as Democracy is in power. For they have resolved upon a reduction of tariff duties as the thing of first importance, and that reduction is impossible if the system of internal-revenue taxation is repealed. From one or other source revenue must come, and the internal-revenue tax is the real and only source of taxation under Democratic theory. The people of the South are beginning to realize this, and thousands of men who have heretofore voted the Democratic ticket feel that they were deceived in the promise of its repeal and must vote the Republican ticket if they hope to accomplish that end.

No revolution of public sentiment in the South is more marked than that concerning education and the power of the Federal Government to aid the States in this and other ways by appropriations of money.

According to Democratic doctrine the government has no power to do any of these things.

In the olden time the South not only denied this power in the Federal Government, but when Congress made such appropriations the Southern States refused to receive them. Virginia and Mississippi declined for many years to accept their share of the public moneys in the Treasury from the proceeds of the sale of public lands, distributed to the States for purposes of public education under the act of 1839. It was only after the war, as late as 1870, that they laid aside their pride and quietly took their share of the money. A changed public sentiment justified such action then.

I have heard it stated that so stiff-necked were the Southern States in the days of slavery in their opposition to and refusal to accept appropriations for rivers and harbors, as beyond Federal authority and against public policy, that up to the outbreak of our civil war the outlay by the Federal Government on Boston Harbor alone exceeded the whole amount expended on the Southern coast from the Potomac to the Rio Grande.

Among the older Southern politicians that feeling still exists and is often manifest. They cannot yield or change opinions which they have spent a lifetime in uttering and defending.

Not so with the people of the New South. In nothing are their feelings more thoroughly revolutionized than in this. The existence of this feeling is made manifest in the greedy demand for Federal aid of all sorts by the younger class of Southern Democratic leaders—demands so multiform and exacting, stretching the doctrine of liberal construction so far, as to make their pretense that they are Democrats, favoring the doctrine of strict construction, an absolute absurdity. The demand for a liberal exercise of Federal power in aid of the Southern people is almost universal in the New South. It matters not what the people with such views may call themselves; these views are ingrained and essentially Republican and not Democratic; and the people holding them are fast finding out that they cannot remain Democratic and obtain what they have so plainly resolved upon having.

The most pointed instance of this popular demand, deluded and thwarted by Democratic promise, is in the matter of Federal aid to education. This measure, as embodied in the Blair (education) bill, is a necessity in the New South. The Federal Government saw fit to free and enfranchise the colored population. The burden of educating this class and fitting them for an intelligent exercise of the rights of citizenship was very great, and fell with peculiar hardship on the impoverished and debt-ridden South. That the Federal Government should aid in the task seemed plain to the North, and to the delighted South it not only held out almost the only hope of doing this right thing, but seemed a fair and honorable action on the part of the Nation. Of course it is a Republican measure. No consistent Democrat can reconcile it with the doctrines of his party. But Southern Democrats, seeing the almost universal demand for it in their constituents, did not hesitate to pledge their party to the support of the measure. To have done otherwise would have been to insure their defeat. Yet how have they redeemed their pledge? They have been utterly unable to induce a majority of their party, now in power, to redeem their pledge, and the Blair bill, thrice passed by a Republican Senate, languishes and is dead in the hands of the Democracy.

I know of nothing which has so brought home to our people a deep and bitter sense of disappointment in Democracy.

One of the great blessings brought to the South by Republicanism is a change from the utter apathy touching popular education once existing there to a feeling amounting almost to enthusiasm in its favor. No measure proposed for many years has met with more unanimous support in the South than the Blair bill. It was calculated to benefit the Southern people peculiarly, for the fund appropriated for educational purposes by that bill was to be distributed to the States on the basis of illiteracy, and this would have carried the great bulk of it to the Southern States. The sight of that measure slaughtered in a Democratic House of Representatives has done more than anything I know to awaken the Southern people to a realization that the narrow, jealous, and illiberal views of Federal power entertained by Democracy are unfitted to the changed conditions and necessities of the South.

I might multiply instances indefinitely, but the foregoing will suffice.

Prejudice against political affiliation with the blacks has undoubtedly deterred and still deters Southern whites from becoming Republicans. But this unreasonable prejudice is fast dying out. It cannot force men to remain in the Democratic party against their interests and convictions, any more than the fact that the negroes are nearly all Baptists can keep white men who believe in the doctrine of immersion from joining the Baptist Church. All that is necessary is a little time. Let me give some figures showing the advances which Republicanism has made with white men in Virginia in the last twelve years. My illustration is from Virginia because I know her matters best, and in a border Southern State a movement of this sort naturally begins. Look at these sixteen counties in Virginia—counties containing 37,370 white voters and but 4381 blacks. In 1876 and 1880 they cast a Republican vote barely equal to the colored voters in their limits. Yet in 1884 they registered nearly 18,000 Republican votes, whereof 14,000 must have been white, and show a gain of 13,400 votes in sixteen counties. Let the Democrat who

boasts of a Solid South, and the Republican who despairs of breaking it, ponder on these figures:

	Males of Voting Age as stated in Census of 1888.		Number of Votes Cast.		
	White.	Colored.	1876. Hayes.	1880. Garfield.	1884. Blaine.
Alleghany	1,074	391	146	146	932
Bland	1,034	43	60	60	465
Buchanan	1,036	5	2	33	243
Floyd	2,421	224	440	345	1,097
Highland	1,044	86	50	75	461
Montgomery	2,664	768	810	601	1,308
Page	1,973	224	139	149	1,089
Rockingham	5,871	644	508	690	2,761
Russell	2,593	221	117	190	1,079
Scott	3,231	129	531	519	1,509
Tazewell	2,253	337	148	148	1,284
Lee	2,826	140	290	267	1,020
Shenandoah	4,019	226	265	350	1,872
Stafford	1,323	351	234	268	762
Wise	1,496	17	138	126	461
Wythe	2,512	565	430	382	1,406
	37,370	4,381	4,308	4,349	17,749

The truth is, the South is beginning to find out that it needs Republican principles to achieve its greatest possibilities, at about the same time that the Republican party is beginning to learn how much it needs the South.

This is a happy conjunction of knowledge. It shows that the South is broadening and expanding in every view; and it imposes upon the Republican party the duty of realizing that its principles, so admirably adapted, in the present and the future, to all sections of our land and all its people, are only marred and weakened by that class of persons who feel called upon on all occasions to thrust forward things of the past which are sectional and embittered, however glorious they may be.

In the approaching campaign it behooves every Republican, North, South, East, and West, whether in antecedents he was a Union man or a Confederate, to unite in making the Republican party what it really is, the only truly national party in America. The Democratic party is intensely sectional. Let not the Republican party fall into an error so odious.

A FAIR VOTE AND AN HONEST COUNT.

By Hon. John J. Ingalls, U. S. Senator from Kansas.

The Republican party, in its platform adopted at Chicago, June 19, 1888, among other things, declares:

"We reaffirm our unswerving devotion to the National Constitution and the indissoluble Union of the States; to the autonomy reserved to the States under the Constitution; to the personal rights and liberties of citizens in all the States and Territories in the Union, and especially to the supreme and sovereign right of every lawful citizen, rich or poor, native or foreign-born, white or black, to cast one free ballot in public elections, and to have that ballot duly counted. We hold the free and honest popular ballot and the just and equal representation of all the people to be the foundation of our republican government, and demand effective legislation to secure the integrity and purity of elections, which are the fountains of public authority. We charge that the present administration and the Democratic majority in Congress owe their existence to the suppression of the ballot by a criminal nullification of the Constitution and laws of the United States."

Why was such an emphatic declaration of these political axioms necessary, and what is the foundation for the indictment against President Cleveland, and his supporters in the House of Representatives?

The answer requires a brief review of the record of the Democratic party in national elections.

Long before the Republican party was organized, the Democracy entered upon a systematic career of frauds upon the suffrage, to which it has persistently adhered, and to which its success is alone due. It has never been sustained by an honest majority of the votes of the American people, and is now in power by revolutionary and unconstitutional methods, as

intolerable and despotic as those which prevail in the most degraded nations of the earth.

The Presidential elections of 1844, of 1852, and of 1856 were carried for the Democracy by corruption and fraud. Failing in 1860 in their nefarious attempt to nationalize slavery, and defeat Lincoln, the Democratic party rebelled rather than submit to the will of the majority, lawfully and peaceably expressed at the polls, and deliberately presented the issue of dissolution and civil war.

In the election of 1844 the vote in the Electoral College stood, Polk, 170; Clay, 105. New York, with 36 electoral votes, Georgia, with 10, and Louisiana, with 6, making 52 in all, were counted for Polk.

In the House of Representatives, on the 7th of January, 1845, ex-Senator Clingman, of North Carolina (who is still living), delivered a speech upon the Democratic frauds in that election, in which he declared that the States above named were carried by corrupt assessments and levies upon officials in the custom-house in New York, by the illegal naturalization of foreigners, and by frauds upon the suffrage.

A similar condition of affairs he alleged prevailed in Maryland, fifty men in Baltimore alone having been convicted of double voting, who were subsequently pardoned by the Democratic governor. In New York City above 7000 foreigners were naturalized, many of whom had not been in the country for six months, whose votes were cast for the Democratic candidate.

He alluded to the Empire Club, of New York City—an important Democratic auxiliary—characterizing it as "an assembly of gamblers, pick-pockets, and persons under indictments for murder and various crimes." A conspiracy was formed to secure through this organization 14,000 illegal votes for Polk, but in consequence of difficulties that were not anticipated they were able only to secure 11,000. The sailors on several ships-of-war in the harbor of New York were unlawfully directed to participate in the election, and were so unacquainted with the duties required of them that they voted in the wrong district, in consequence of which a Democratic

member of Congress from Brooklyn was defeated, and his colleague in New York, on the opposite side of the bay, was elected.

Polk's apparent plurality in New York over Clay, notwithstanding the fraudulent votes cast, was but 5106.

Mr. Clingman further alleged that voters were transferred from Philadelphia to the city of Albany, in pursuance of this conspiracy. In the county of St. Lawrence more than 1500 fraudulent votes were cast, making a total of above 20,000 ascertained illegal voters in that State alone. He averred that in four counties in Georgia more fraudulent votes were cast than the declared majority of Polk in that State, which was 2071.

Clay was undoubtedly entitled to the electoral vote of Louisiana, and it was subsequently clearly established by testimony that the State was carried for Polk by a gang of New Orleans ruffians and repeaters who were taken on a steamboat to the voting-place of Plaquemines Parish, where they cast 701 votes for the Democratic electors. Upon the face of the returns the Democratic majority was 699.

There is no fact in history more clearly established than that in 1868 New York was carried for Seymour by the most shameless and systematic frauds perpetrated by Tweed and his confederates in crime. The State was largely Republican, outside of the city of New York, where such spurious majorities were manufactured by the Democratic officials, who had all the election machinery, that the verdict of the people was apparently reversed and the mercenary misrule of Hoffman and Tweed continued, until public indignation was aroused by the plunder of the revenues, the prostitution of the judiciary, and the corruption of the suffrage.

In 1876 New York was counted for Tilden by the repetition of the same depraved practices. A majority of the honest vote of that State unquestionably was cast for Hayes, but the simulated returns from New York City and Kings County were repeated, with the usual result. Many of the Southern States were also undeniably Republican, but the "Mississippi plan" was invented for that occasion, and by terrorizing and

murdering colored citizens the organization of the party was destroyed, the canvass was interrupted, and entire communities were prevented from voting. In several States the plan succeeded, but notwithstanding the bloody and brutal methods of the Democracy, Florida, South Carolina, and Louisiana were carried by the Republicans, although thousands of electors were illegally prevented from casting their votes. Because Republican returning boards had the courage and intelligence to reject the votes of precincts and parishes where violence and intimidation had been employed to defeat the will of the majority, the Democratic party threatened another revolution, and declared their purpose to seat Tilden by force.

To avoid civil war and secure a peaceable solution of the difficulty, the Republicans finally accepted the Democratic proposition for an Electoral Commission, consisting of five members of the Democratic House of Representatives, five members of the Republican Senate, and the five senior members of the Supreme Court of the United States, constituting a tribunal that, as the court was then organized, would be in favor of seating Tilden, the Democratic nominee for the Presidency, by a majority of one.

Had the Hon. David Davis, the fifth member of the Supreme Court, not been chosen to the Senate of the United States from Illinois in the place of Hon. John A. Logan (whose term had expired), rendering necessary the appointment of Mr. Bradley as the fifteenth member of the commission, its decision would undoubtedly have been in favor of Mr. Tilden instead of Mr. Hayes, by a vote of eight to seven.

When it became evident that the decision of the Electoral Commission would be adverse to the claims of the Democratic party to the votes in the disputed Southern States, they entered into further machinations for the purpose of preventing the anticipated result, by attempting to purchase the vote of a Presidential Elector in the State of Oregon. The negotiations were conducted by the intimate friends and trusted relatives of Mr. Tilden, in his own house, by means of the notorious cipher dispatches, whose genuineness and authenticity were never denied. Agents of Mr. Tilden were also sent to Florida, to South

Carolina, and to Louisiana with large sums of money, which they were instructed to use if necessary to secure the requisite majority in the Electoral College. Detected in their nefarious schemes, and thwarted in their corrupt and unpatriotic effort to overthrow the will of the people, the Democratic party sullenly acquiesced in the decision of the Electoral Commission, and since that time have endeavored to distract public attention from their frauds upon the suffrage, by their allusions in national and State platforms to "Hayes, and the fraud of 1876."

Since 1876 the Republican party has been practically disorganized and extinct in the South. The "Mississippi plan" of outrage, intimidation, and murder has yielded to the "South Carolina plan" of ballot-box stuffing, fraudulent registration, and fictitious returns, which have been found to be equally effective, with the additional advantage of not arousing public indignation in the North. The Republicans in nearly every Southern State, both in local and Presidential elections, have for the past eleven years been disfranchised. Occasionally massacres have occurred, as in Copiah County, Mississippi, and at Danville, in Virginia; but that species of "persuasion," as it is denominated by the Senators from Louisiana, has been generally abandoned. The tissue ballot has been found equally effective, more scientific, and more difficult of detection, than the bowie-knife, the bludgeon, and the revolver.

During the past eight years, therefore, there has been hardly the semblance of a contest by the Republicans in the old slave States. Knowing that it was of no use to attempt to vote, they have quietly refrained. The results are plainly visible in the returns upon Congressional elections. While in the Northern States the average vote cast in a Congressional district is from 15,000 to 20,000, in Georgia it is about 4000. At the election of 1882 for Congressmen in the twenty districts of Illinois, 525,270 votes were cast; while in the 38 Congressional districts in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina, including one member elected at large, the total number of votes cast was 498,973. Thus the vote of one elector in either

of these States counts for more than the votes of two men in Illinois, or any other Northern State.

Oregon has one member of Congress, and the total vote in that State this year was a little in excess of 60,000. Georgia has ten Representatives in Congress. The total vote cast for these ten members was 23,806, and but 1900 votes were recorded against them. Kansas has seven Representatives in Congress, for whom 251,971 votes were cast. Mississippi sends the same number, with 45,557 votes. These enormous excesses of representation which the South receives in Congress and in the Electoral College are upon the basis of a large population, whose vote is suppressed, coerced, or thrown out of the count, representing the Republican party south of the Potomac River.

The most recent illustration of Democratic methods in the Southern States appears in the election in Louisiana, held on the 17th of April last, at which the governor and other State officers, together with the legislature, charged with the election of two United States Senators, were chosen.

There had been a serious quarrel in the Democratic party of that State between the factions headed respectively by ex-Gov. Nicholls and Gov. McEnery, both of whom were candidates for the gubernatorial nomination. In a speech delivered at New Orleans in January, during the canvass that preceded the election of delegates to the nominating convention, Gov. McEnery pledged himself to an honest and fair election. He declared that he would see that every vote was counted as cast, that no substitution of ballots was practiced, and that the voice of all the voters in the State, as deposited in the ballot-box, should find expression and receive recognition, and that the officers elected should be commissioned. He also publicly announced that he would remove any registrar or returning officer in the city or State that he had reason to believe aided in suppressing or changing the popular will.

The declarations of the Governor admitted that grounds of complaint had hitherto existed, and vindicated all that had been said by Republicans about the condition of the suffrage in the South. Relying upon the public assurances of Gov. McEnery, the Republicans organized, made nominations, and

entered actively into the canvass. The nominating convention assembled on the 10th of January, and after an animated and bitter contest Nicholls was successful in obtaining the nomination. The partisans of Nicholls refused to support a resolution indorsing Gov. McEnery's administration, whereupon the supporters of McEnery declared that unless he was unqualifiedly indorsed a resolution would be introduced committing the Democratic party in Louisiana to a "free vote and a fair count." Yielding to this threat, the refusal of the supporters of Nicholls was reconsidered, and the administration of McEnery was indorsed.

Subsequently, in a personal interview between McEnery and Warmoth, who had been nominated by the Republicans, McEnery repeated his declarations that he would hold himself personally and officially responsible for a fair, honest, and free election in April. He repeated his assurances again and again upon the stump during the campaign, but, as the canvass proceeded, it became apparent that there was danger of Republican success, and of the election of Warmoth. The tone of Gov. McEnery's speeches suddenly changed. Early in March he said:

"I tell you there is danger, and north Louisiana will have to save this State from disgrace. If you permit the negroes to organize, you will have to break it by power, and go right now and break it in its incipiency. Before I will see such another state of affairs I will wrap the State in revolution from the Gulf to the Arkansas line. The white people under the radical *régime* were fast going toward the condition of Hayti, and I now ask you to establish to the world that we, the white people, intend to rule the destinies of this country. We have now a Gaul at our doors, and it is time we shall say that the law shall be silent, and uphold our liberties at all hazards."

As the campaign was drawing toward its close, and the success of Warmoth became more probable, Gov. McEnery prepared a circular letter, which was sent to the returning officers, whose duty it is under the statutes of Louisiana to select the polling places, appoint the commissioners and clerks of election, and return the votes in all the parishes of the State, in

which he said: "Warmoth is developing too much strength. We must beat him. See to it that your parish returns a large Democratic majority."

Gov. Warmoth has publicly challenged Gov. McEnery to deny the authenticity of this letter, which was sent not alone to the returning officers, but to leading Democrats in different portions of the State. At the meeting in March, previously referred to, Gov. McEnery was followed by Col. Jack, of Natchitoches, who said:

"You have heard the assurances of our chief executive that, come what will or may, he will wrap this State in revolution from the Arkansas line to the Gulf, rather than have radicalism come into power. And I tell you we are in danger with the astute and wily Warmoth as a leader—the wily, crafty, and insidious gentleman from New Orleans.

"If this state of affairs should confront him, all Gov. McEnery would have to do would be to issue his fiat or manifesto, and the people of North Louisiana would come to his rescue and redeem the State as they did before; and if what I say is treason, let them make the most of it."

The largest Democratic vote heretofore cast in Louisiana was at the spring election of 1884, when McEnery received 88,794. Cleveland in the same year received 62,546. In 1880 Hancock received 65,067. There had been no considerable increase of population in Louisiana, and the registration remained practically the same; but under the impulse of the appeals of Gov. McEnery, and the instructions issued to the Democratic officials, the total vote returned for Nicholls on the 17th of April was 131,899, a majority of 83,699 over Warmoth, being 43,000 more than were cast for McEnery in 1884, and 67,000 more than were cast for Hancock, and nearly 70,000 more than were cast for Cleveland.

This astounding result is a striking commentary upon the "fair and honest count" which was promised by the Governor of Louisiana. The returning boards evidently thoroughly obeyed the injunction of Gov. McEnery to see to it that their parishes returned a large Democratic majority. Intelligent and thoughtful observers believe that, upon a reasonable estimate

of the vote in Louisiana, Warmoth carried the State by not less than 25,000 majority, which was converted by ballot-box stuffing, by spurious and fabricated returns—in many cases exceeding the entire registered vote—into a majority for Nicholls of more than 83,000, Even the Democratic newspapers of the State protested against the extraordinary and preposterous proceedings. They declared that the majority was ridiculous and unnecessary; that it would excite derisive sneers throughout the North, and go far toward electing a Republican President. One editor declared that only a suspension of the law could produce such exaggerated majorities, and that if the Demoratic party indorsed such methods it would become a by-word and a reproach.

Upon the subject of spurious and manifestly fabricated majorities, or majorities that exceed the entire registered vote, the statistics are interesting. For instance, in the parish of Bossier, giving Nicholls 4213 votes and Warmoth 95, making a total of 4308 cast, the registered vote of the parish is but 3603, making a difference between the votes returned as cast and the registered vote of 705.

In East Carroll parish the registered vote was 2576. Nicholls received 2680, or 104 in excess of the entire registration, and Warmoth received 285, being a total of 389 votes more than appeared upon the lists.

Adjoining the parish of East Carroll is Madison, where the law was entirely 'suspended.' The registered vote in Madison was 3360, of which 279 were white and 3081 colored. Nicholls's vote was 2530, with not a single vote for Warmoth, so that Nicholls received 170 votes more than the entire number of votes, white and colored, in the parish.

The parish of Concordia had a registered vote of 4201, of which 448 were white and 3753 colored. Nicholls received 4219 votes in Concordia, being 18 votes more than the entire registration; and the Democracy gratuitously gave Warmoth 145, making a total of votes cast apparently 4364, or an excess of 163 votes above the entire registration.

In Red River Parish the result was still more 'unanimous.' The registered vote was 1181, of which Nicholls received 1679

and Warmoth 78, being a total of 1757, an excess of 576. Subtracting the registered vote of the parish from the vote received by Nicholls, it will be perceived that the 'reform' candidate was given 498 votes more than the entire parish contains. This is a free vote and an honest count!

Coming down to the parish of West Baton Rouge we find a total of 1811, of which 504 are white and 1307 colored. In this parish Nicholls was given 1712 and Warmoth 454, a total of 2166, making an excess of votes counted above votes registered of 355.

Another illustration of the fulfillment of McEnery's pledge that he would see an 'honest and fair election' is found in the vote of Vermillion, in southwestern Louisiana, a parish whose registered vote is 2099, of which Nicholls received 1687 and Warmoth 619, total 2306, an excess of 211.

In Washington parish the registered vote was 965, of which Nicholls received 763, Warmoth 271, a total of 1034, or 69 more votes than the registration shows to have been in the parish. In these precincts and parishes to which I have referred, containing a registered vote of a little less than 20,000, the excess of votes cast above the registration is more than 2600.

But it is not in the Southern States alone that the Democratic party has displayed its inherent and ingrained propensity to falsify the returns, and to steal what they could not honestly and fairly obtain.

From 1884 to 1887 the Senate of the United States was Republican by only two majority. The members of the legislatures elected in those years in Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana were to choose successors to three Republican Senators. It is a curious and instructive coincidence that in each of those three States the most desperate and determined efforts were made by the Democracy through fraud, theft, perjury, and forgery to secure enough legislators to elect Democratic successors to Logan, Harrison, and Sherman.

On the morning after the election in 1884, in Illinois, it appeared from the unofficial returns that the Republicans had 76 members of the House and 26 in the Senate, a total of 102; while the Democrats had 76 members of the House and 24 of

the Senate, with one member in each body independent. If the Republicans could be deprived of one Senator and one Representative, the Democrats, through a coalition with the independents, would have a majority of two on joint ballot.

In the Sixth Senatorial District it appeared that Henry W. Lehmann had been chosen over Rudolph Brand, Democrat, by 390 majority. The returns from the Second Precinct of the Eighteenth Ward in Chicago gave the vote as follows: Lehmann, 420; Brand, 274. Six days later, when the official canvass was made, it was discovered that the returns had been changed. They then read, Lehman, 220; Brand, 474; which gave Brand a majority of 10 in the district. The evidences of fraud and forgery were so clear that the United States Grand Jury, then in session, promptly found an indictment against Joseph C. Mackin, the alleged instigator of the crime, and the man who ordered the bogus tickets printed; Henry W. Gallagher, the expert penman who forged the tally-sheets; and Richard Gleason, a clerk in the County Clerk's office, through whose connivance the ballot-boxes and tally-sheets were changed.

Mackin and Gallagher are now convicts in the penitentiary in Illinois. The case against Gleason was dropped upon some legal technicality.

In Ohio, in 1886, the same tactics were resorted to by the Democratic party in Cincinnati and Columbus, but the thieves and forgers of Ohio were less expert than those in Illinois. Instead of preparing an entirely new tally-sheet, the figures on the original were changed, and so clumsily and awkwardly that the fraud was plainly visible. In Columbus the tally-sheets were stolen. Judge Thurman, the present candidate of the Democracy for Vice-President, was retained as counsel for the prosecution in some of these cases, and has diminished his own vote, in Ohio at least, by assisting to incarcerate several of his brother-Democrats in the State penitentiary.

The Democracy of Ohio do not regard this subject as an agreeable topic of discussion; but one of the most prominent members of that party, ex-Gov. Hoadly, in a speech delivered

in Cincinnati, just before his departure for New York, where he is now residing, gave his party associates some valuable advice, which they will do well to heed. He admitted that at the fall election of 1885, votes had been counted for him that had been cast for Gov. Foraker, and urged his party friends never again to allow an honest man to be put into the position of knowing that he had been credited with votes that had never been cast for him.

But reputable Democrats, who would not participate in frauds upon the suffrage, have little influence on the party organization.

In Indiana, in 1886, the Democrats were more successful. The State Senate was Democratic, and it refused to recognize the Lieutenant-Governor elected in that year. The President, *pro tempore*, of the Senate retained his place. Two Republican Senators who had been elected were arbitrarily excluded, and a majority on joint ballot being thus obtained, Mr. David Turpie was chosen to succeed Senator Harrison, and his title to his seat has been confirmed by the Senate.

The latest exhibition in the State of New York of the Democratic attitude upon the subject of a free ballot and fair count is the veto of the Saxton Electoral Reform bill by Gov. Hill—a veto generally approved by the Democratic press. The object of this measure was to guard against illegal voting, repeating, ballot-box stuffing, and all species of fraud upon the suffrage. It was passed almost unanimously by a Republican legislature, but, not agreeing with the ideas of the Democratic machine, it failed to receive the approval of the Executive.

THE QUESTION IS ANSWERED.

The Republican party demands a free ballot and a fair count because a free ballot and a fair count are denied by the Democrats in nine States to such an extent that voting is a mockery, and because in other States frauds on the suffrage are committed whenever they appear necessary. It demands a free ballot and a fair count because they are at the basis of republican institutions; because there is no safety for the Re-

public unless the purity of the polls is preserved; because the Democratic party, always and everywhere, has been and is more careful for partisan success than for the preservation of our institutions; because a free ballot and a fair count would re-enfranchise a million voters in the Gulf States and break up the menace of a solid South.

If the South were kept "solid" by fair means, the Republican party would have no right to complain. If, upon an open, fair, honest expression of opinion on the part of all citizens, white and black, one hundred and fifty-three electoral votes were recorded for the Democratic party in the South, nobody could find fault. If this result were reached by the voluntary refusal of sixty per cent of the population to vote at all, even this could be endured. But when more than one half of the entire body of citizens desiring to vote are either forcibly prevented, or fraudulently deprived of their votes by false returns, the situation is widely different.

One hundred and fifty-three votes in the Electoral College are assured to the Democracy in November without any other effort than that required to write the certificates. It will not be necessary to make a speech nor contribute a dollar for the expenses of that campaign. Forty-eight more in the North will give Cleveland another term. To secure these, the patronage of the administration, the contributions from office-holders, the services of the repeaters, the rounders, and the heelers of New York, Ohio, and Indiana will be strenuously devoted. While the South is kept "solid," the North is to be divided by false pretenses, by efforts to array labor against capital, the poor against the rich, the farmers against the corporations. They need but forty-eight votes, while the Republicans in this unequal contest must secure two hundred and one, or fail. Nor should it be forgotten that of the one hundred and fifty-three Southern votes, thirty-eight were obtained by the additional representation arising from the enfranchisement of the negroes, who thus increase the political power of their former masters, by whom they are deprived of the prerogatives of citizenship guaranteed by the Constitution and laws of the United States.

The purpose to eliminate the negro as a factor in the politics and society of the South is no longer concealed. It is avowed openly by their representatives in the Senate. They declare their intention to prevent the negro from voting, "by persuasion"! They affirm that he is destitute of capacity for self-government. If this be true, let them then in honor and justice relinquish the increment they acquired by his enfranchisement; so that equality of suffrage may be preserved, and the equilibrium between the North and the South maintained.

The approaching contest is the most important of the century. It will be the Gettysburg of our politics. Its result will determine the course of our history for another generation. Should the next administration be Democratic, the Supreme Court will be reconstructed upon the basis of hostility to the war amendments and the great statutes of freedom. From its decision there will be no appeal except by revolution.

The great economic questions of protection to American labor, the currency, the surplus, internal improvements, our foreign policy, education, the public credit, affecting not alone the welfare of the Nation, but the wages of every laborer and the values of all property, will be the subjects of legislation, and when we insist that the decision shall be made by legislators and an Executive honestly chosen by a free ballot and a fair count, we are insolently told that it is "none of our business"! That is to say, by the suppression of majorities, by stuffing ballot-boxes with votes that were never cast, by forging certificates of election, Cleveland may be declared President, and Senators and Representatives may be returned to Congress, who are to impose taxes, dispose of the revenues, and direct the destinies of the Nation, while representing only a minority of the people, and it is "none of our business"!

The Constitution of the United States does not confer upon any citizen the right to vote. That right is not one of the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States. When possessed at all, even for electing Representatives in Congress and Presidential Electors (the only national officials chosen by popular vote), it is conferred by State constitutions

and State statutes. The Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution does not, as is sometimes supposed, grant the right of suffrage to any one. It only exempts citizens of the United States from discrimination in the several States in the exercise of the right to vote on account of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude," and empowers Congress to enforce that right of exemption by appropriate legislation. The power of the States to qualify or deny the elective franchise upon other grounds, such as nativity, sex, illiteracy, non-payment of taxes, remains unchanged. The authority of Congress to legislate at all upon the subject of suffrage in the different States rests alone upon the Fifteenth Amendment. It can be exercised only by providing punishment when the votes of the qualified electors at any State or national election are refused by the State authorities, on account of race, or color, or previous condition of servitude, and the only punishment that can be inflicted upon the State is the reduction of its representation in Congress and the Electoral College.

It is no answer to say that these crimes against suffrage are not committed by the State, but by individuals; that as there are no statutes forbidding negroes to vote, they are not deprived of their rights by the "State." The State permits these wrongs to be perpetrated, and refuses to punish the malefactors. The officials of the State direct and authorize the proceedings by which majorities are suppressed, elections corrupted, citizens outraged, and the Nation dishonored.

In a political system based like ours upon the absolute equality of all men before the law, if the humblest citizen is deprived of his rights, without redress, the government ceases to be republican in form. If injustice is inflicted upon one, all are the victims. It is not a local question. It transcends State boundaries and becomes national. The fraudulent election in Louisiana affected not only those who were deprived of their votes, but those who voted also, and all the voters of every party in every State in the Union, and every material interest of the American people. There can be neither peace nor prosperity while the equality of suffrage is disregarded. The legality of every election will be challenged, discontent

will be succeeded by exasperation, respect for law will disappear, and some fatal catastrophe will follow.

The Constitution and the Union derive their force and sanction from, and depend for their permanence and stability upon, the will of the people expressed at the polls. Our fabric of government rests upon popular suffrage, as a temple upon its foundation-stones. It cannot stand unless justice is impartial and equality universal; unless it is as safe for a black Republican to vote in Mississippi as for a white Democrat to vote in Colorado; unless at every poll, at all elections, in every State and Territory, each citizen can cast one vote freely and have it honestly counted.

THE FUTURE MISSION OF THE PARTY.

By Hon. Geo. F. Hoar, U. S. Senator from Massachusetts.

Certainly no political party in history, not even that to which was committed the great function of inaugurating the Constitution, ever in so brief a space accomplished so much that was important and beneficent as the Republican party in the fourteen years in which it held legislative and executive power.

It was formed for the sole purpose of preventing the extension of slavery into the Territories. The providence of God imposed upon it far larger duties.

In fourteen years it enacted a protective tariff, which made the United States the greatest manufacturing nation on earth; it enlisted, organized, and sent back to civil life a vast army; it created a great navy, constructed on principles not invented when it came into power; it put down a gigantic rebellion; it made freemen and citizens of four million slaves; it contrived the national banking system; it created a currency which circulates throughout the world on an equality with gold; it incurred a vast debt, and made provision for its payment; it made the credit of the country the best in the world; it restored specie payment; it devised and inaugurated the beneficent homestead system; it built the Pacific railroads; it compelled France to depart from Mexico; it exacted apology and reparation from Great Britain; it overthrew the doctrine of perpetual allegiance, and required the great powers of Europe hereafter to let our adopted citizens alone; it made honorable provision for invalid soldiers and sailors.

To no one of these things did the Democratic party contribute. Most of them encountered its bitter and strenuous opposition.

CONSTITUENT ELEMENTS OF THE TWO PARTIES.

The elements that make up the two parties to-day are, in substance, little changed. The men who, to the utmost of their power, opposed every one of these things are still all-powerful to direct the policy of the Democratic party. Subtract from that party the old slaveholders and the liquor-dealers and criminal classes of the great Northern cities, and it would no longer be formidable.

The farmers of the West, the manufacturers and skilled laborers of the East, the soldiers, the church-members, the clergymen, the school-teachers, the reformers, the men who are doing everywhere the great work of temperance, of education, of philanthropy, make up now, as they have ever made up, the strength of the Republican party. They will deal with the questions which arise in the future in the same temper, with the same purpose, and with the same capacity with which they have dealt with them in the past.

There may be, there will be, while human nature remains unchanged, periods when the Republican party may fall short of its high standard. We know well that no people can always dwell on the tops of the mountains; that it is

> "The most difficult of tasks to keep
> Heights which the soul is competent to gain."

We cannot now foresee the great questions of the future, any more than we could foresee them in 1860. But we cannot doubt that when they come, the honest, wise, safe, liberal, progressive American counsel will be given by the party whose history we have sketched, made up of the free men of the free North, from whom such counsel has always come, and that the unwise, unsafe, illiberal, obstructive, un-American counsel will still come from the party whose strength is in the solid South, allied with the liquor-sellers and the criminal classes of the great Northern cities, from whom such counsel has always come.

THE REPUBLICAN FAITH.

The Republican party is not a church, nor a conclave. Extending over nearly fifty States and Territories, of varying history, interests, opinions, and character, it must comprise and tolerate a large variety of opinion in matters non-essential. But it has its creed and its statement of faith, from which no man departing can maintain his Republicanism. That statement of faith is to be found in the Declaration of Independence and in most of our State constitutions.

It is that it is the right and the duty of every citizen to take his equal share in the government of his country.

To that end the obligation rests upon the State to see that every citizen has an education which shall fit him for that duty and privilege.

To that end the obligation rests upon the State to pursue such policy as will keep the standard of wages up to the highest possible point, so that the citizen may have the comfort and leisure for himself and the education for his children without which he cannot discharge this duty with intelligence and honor.

To that end the ballot-box must be made sacred and kept sacred. The man who, by fraud or violence, defeats the true will of the people, expressed by a fair majority of equal votes, or who debauches that will by corrupting the individual voter, should be punished by the severest penalties of the law, and made infamous by an aroused and indignant public sentiment.

To that end, polygamy, which destroys the sanctity of the home, must be extirpated.

To that end, the drinking-saloon, which corrupts and debauches the soul and destroys the health of body and mind, must be suppressed.

These are the great essentials of free government. Without all of them the Republic itself cannot long endure. These are the six points of republicanism. That the Republican party alone is to be looked to for their accomplishment will be seen,

when we reflect how ridiculous and out of place any one of them would seem in a Democratic platform.

OTHER IMPORTANT OBJECTS TO BE ACCOMPLISHED.

There are other things also for which we can look only to the wisdom and courage of Republican statesmanship.

We desire a dignified and spirited foreign policy, instead of the timid and supplicatory tone which now pervades our diplomacy. We want an administration which is neither afraid to hold the great railroads of the country in check on the one hand, nor to do them full and exact justice on the other. We want an administration that will develop our foreign commerce and our foreign carrying trade, that will build up our navy and no longer leave our coasts undefended. We want life and vigor and health to pervade every part of the country. The Republican party, from 1861 to 1874, the only years when it has wielded the legislative forces of the country, has shown what it could accomplish with the forces of a people of thirty million in a time of war, when one third of the country was attempting the destruction of the rest.

When it shall return to power in both the legislature and executive branches of he Government, it will do far greater things with the forces of a people of sixty million in profound peace, dwelling together in unity, North and South divided only by a generous rivalry which shall contribute most to the common glory of their country.

America has a destiny even greater than all this. When she shall resume her triumphant march on her accustomed pathway of safety, of honor, and of glory, it will not be for herself alone. She is to be, as ever before, aye, as never before, "the enlightener of the nations, the beautiful pioneer in the progress of the world." The sinking hearts of the poor, the down-trodden, the oppressed, everywhere shall still be borne up by a new courage, as they think of her.

The torchlight of her great Declaration shall still blaze on the heights, cheering and blessing and comforting humanity everywhere with its beam.

FORWARD.

The mission of the Republican party is not yet ended. Its record and policy, the personal character of its membership, its stalwart Americanism, will make it a potent and lasting force in the future, as they have made it in the past, history of the country.

Not till the American ballot-box is as sacred as the American hearth; not till every American citizen is an educated American citizen; not till American labor is shielded in temperance and thrift at home, and from competition with pauperism abroad; not till the American flag is the unchallenged symbol of American rights; not till the Republic is a synonym for the universal intelligence, freedom, equality, and political and social happiness of every one of its citizens, will the mission of the Republican party be ended. And to that mission, to that worthy expansion of its great achievements in the past, it summons to its banner now and henceforward the ardor and patriotism and conscience of American manhood, the enthusiasm of its youth, and the wisdom of its maturer years.

So marshaled and so inspired, its motto Forward, the Great Republican Army will go on conquering and to conquer.

THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONVENTION OF 1888.

THE CONVENTION CALL.

THE call for the Republican National Convention issued December 9, 1887, contained the following:

"Republican electors in the several States, and voters without regard to past political affiliations, differences, or action, who believe in the American principle of a protective tariff for the defense and development of home industries and the elevation of home labor; who would reduce the national taxes and prevent the accumulation of the surplus in the Treasury in harmony with this principle; who are opposed to the attempt now more openly avowed than ever before to establish a policy which would strike down American labor to the level of the oppressed and underpaid workers in foreign lands; who favor a system of naval and coast defenses which will enable the United States to conduct its international negotiations with self-respect; who gratefully cherish the defenders of the country; who condemn and resent the continued and unjust exclusion of rapidly growing Territories, which have an indisputable title to admission into the sisterhood of States; who are in favor of free schools and popular education, a free and honest ballot and a fair count, the protection of every citizen of the United States in his legal rights at home and abroad, a foreign policy that shall extend our trade and commerce to every land and clime, and shall properly support the dignity of the Nation and the promotion of friendly and harmonious relations and intercourse between all the States, are cordially invited to unite under this call in the formation of a national ticket."

EARNEST AND HARMONIOUS SPIRIT DISPLAYED.

As the time for the election of delegates drew near, it became evident that an earnest spirit pervaded the party. It was felt that there was need to send strong and able men to Chicago, men not easily carried away by sudden enthusiasms, but cool, clear-headed, sagacious men who would confer together, and decide deliberately, after comparing opinions and consulting all the interests to be involved, what candidate it was wisest to present to the suffrages of the people. The leading Republican journals counseled wisely against instructing the delegates of any particular State to stand by any favorite son "first, last, and all the time;" and, as a matter of fact, only a comparatively few of the delegations were instructed at all.

The party had been out of power in the national government more than three years; the Democrats held the Federal offices, and the office-holders were working with the precision of a machine to register the will of their master in the White House; it was known that they would have more money to spend than ever before; and the fact was fully appreciated that it is easier to fight an enemy in the open than when he is behind intrenchments. The Republicans confronted a serious situation, and they realized it fully. Any old feuds or quarrels within the party were lost sight of. The differences of the past were laid aside. There were no factional quarrels in the election of delegates, except in a single State. There were and are no half-hearted or lukewarm Republicans among those who had the right to send delegates to Chicago.

A DELIBERATIVE BODY.

The different States had vied with one another in selecting their ablest, most experienced and trusted leaders to represent them in that great deliberative body, convened for the purpose of choosing the head for a government of sixty million freemen.

The delegates went there impressed with a sense of their responsibility, and of the importance of making a wise choice—not a choice for one State only, nor for a single group of States,

but for the whole Nation. They were resolved to do their work carefully and deliberately, not to be "stampeded," and to do nothing that they might afterward be sorry for. With such men to guide its deliberations, the action of the Convention was sure to conservative and wise.

MR. BLAINE'S REFUSAL TO BE A CANDIDATE.

There can be no doubt that the first choice of a majority of the delegates chosen was the gallant leader who had made the fight at the head of the Republican host in 1884. It was felt that he had been unjustly deprived of an office to which a majority of the people had wished to elect him; and that if he chose to lead again, it was his privilege and his right to do so. But Mr. Blaine, after more than twenty years of public service, felt that he had fairly earned a rest, and did not desire to enter once more into a hot political fight as the principal figure. When it was made apparent to him that if he did not forbid it, his name would be put at the head of the ticket again, he wrote the magnanimous and dignified letter which has become famous as "the Florence letter," telling his friends plainly that he did not desire the honor, and did not wish his name to come before the Convention.

CANDIDATES BEFORE THE CONVENTION.

After it was thus made plain that Mr. Blaine was not a candidate, the ground was left free for other distinguished Republican leaders. Ohio presented John Sherman, a name identified with Republicanism for thirty years, and with some of the wisest and best measures of Republican legislation and administration. Iowa brought forward, with great enthusiasm and entire unanimity, a strong, able, and conservative candidate, in the person of Senator Allison. Indiana declared herself, with no uncertain or feeble voice, for Benjamin Harrison. New York presented the name of Chauncey M. Depew, a railway president who is most popular with his own employés, an orator who charms and instructs every audience to whom he speaks. Illinois adopted an Indiana candidate in Judge Gresh-

am, who had made a great name for himself by his gallant conduct in the war, by his services in President Arthur's Cabinet, and by his decisions on the bench. Michigan and Wisconsin considered their governors worthy of promotion to a higher post.

As the time for the Convention drew near, it was seen that Senator Sherman would have more votes on the first ballot than any other single candidate, but not nearly enough to nominate him; while several of the others were pretty even in strength. It was sure to be a long convention.

ORGANIZING AND ADOPTING PLATFORM.

The Convention assembled on the 19th of June. John M. Thurston, of Nebraska, was made temporary chairman, and Morris M. Estee, of California, permanent chairman. After the organization, the first important piece of work done was the making of the platform. The task was intrusted to an able committee, at the head of which was placed Mr. McKinley, of Ohio, well known as a great tariff champion in the House of Repreentatives, and as an able, sagacious, and conscientious statesman.

As this document was read to the Convention, and its admirably clear and cogent statements of Republican doctrine followed one another, the applause was spontaneous and hearty, and grew in volume to the end. It was adopted unanimously. It is a thoroughly American platform, and a thoroughly protective platform. It is for protection to the American voter in the exercise of his suffrage; protection to the American laborer and manufacturer against the cheap labor of Europe; protection to American citizens and American interests against foreign aggression; protection to our national American domain against alien ownership; protection to American labor against degraded immigrant contract labor; protection for the purity and the safety of the American home against the evils that beset it most. It is a platform that all Republicans can stand on, and, indeed, all citizens who love their country and desire her prosperity, and who wish to maintain her dignity and her prestige in the eyes of the world.

THE BALLOTING.

When the first ballot was taken, the votes were distributed among fourteen candidates. Two States voted solid, and many were split up among half a dozen names. Three successive ballots showed very little change, and then a recess was taken. When the Convention came together again, Mr. Depew withdrew his name, and most of his strength went to Harrison, whose nomination on Friday evening seemed to be imminent. But the Convention adjourned without a choice. Waverers were confirmed, and the two ballots taken on Saturday showed that the Convention must wait over Sunday to select its candidate.

That Sunday was an anxious day. It was spent largely in reflection and mature consideration, and the result of the thinking that was done then appeared on Monday.

It took three more ballots to nominate, and on the eighth General Harrison received 544 votes to 283 cast for all other candidates, and became the nominee of the Convention. A motion to make the nomination unanimous was carried without a dissenting voice, and the great work for which the Convention had been called together was accomplished.

THE NOMINATIONS.

It must be evident to the most careless observer that the choice of the Convention was made with the greatest care, and after thorough consideration of the merits of all the candidates. The result of their deliberations has been happily characterized since by the Hon. William Walter Phelps, of New Jersey, who said of General Harrison "that he seemed to be almost a composite photograph of what the Nation wanted in a candidate. This is a very happy illustration of the fitting character of the Republican leader. He is in many respects a composite of the best thought, the best purpose, and the best life of the American people. Not too radical to be unbalanced, not too conservative to be old-fogyish and unprogressive, he has the scholarship to command the respect of men of letters, he has the gallant record to command the admiration of the volunteer

soldier whom he represents, he has the Christian character and purpose to typify the great religious sentiments which underlie American character, he has the home life with the tender feelings that idealize the American home, he has the manliness and self-respect which crown American manhood; he has, in short, gathered in himself the best elements of all classes and conditions of American life. In that sense he is a composite photograph of what the American people want in a candidate. Living neither in the extreme East nor the extreme West, but where the currents of Eastern and Western opinion meet and blend, he is representative of the best stock of both. Representing so much that is ideal in American character and life, he will be chosen by the American people as the best representative of all sections and the best exponent of American manhood and civilization."

The nomination for Vice-President, it was generally felt, should go to New York. Her principal candidate had generously withdrawn his name, and the New York delegation was the first large one that came from outside to the support of Harrison. When that State, therefore, named Levi P. Morton as her candidate for the second place, the Convention immediately ratified the choice, and the ticket was completed. The cool, clear-headed judgment of the great majority of delegates had prevailed. They were bound to make no mistakes, and they did make none. The candidates are an embodiment of the platform, and both platform and candidates are of the kind to stand the test of a long campaign, and to grow in strength from day to day and from week to week, until, on the sixth day of November, they are carried to overwhelming victory by the votes of the American people.

THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM ADOPTED AT CHICAGO, JUNE 21st, 1888.

HONOR TO DEAD HEROES.

THE Republicans of the United States, assembled by their delegates in National Convention, pause on the threshold of their proceedings to honor the memory of their first great leader, the immortal champion of liberty and the rights of the people—Abraham Lincoln; and to cover also with wreaths of imperishable remembrance and gratitude the heroic names of our later leaders who have more recently been called away from our councils—Grant, Garfield, Arthur, Logan, Conkling. May their memories be faithfully cherished. We also recall with our greetings, and with prayer for his recovery, the name of one of our living heroes, whose memory will be treasured in the history both of Republicans and of the Republic—the name of that noble soldier and favorite child of Victory, Philip H. Sheridan.

SYMPATHY FOR THE OPPRESSED.

In the spirit of those great leaders, and of our own devotion to human liberty, and with that hostility to all forms of despotism and oppression which is the fundamental idea of the Republican party, we send fraternal congratulation to our fellow-Americans of Brazil upon their great act of emancipation, which completed the abolition of slavery throughout the two American continents.

We earnestly hope that we may soon congratulate our fellow-citizens of Irish birth upon the peaceful recovery of home rule for Ireland.

FREE SUFFRAGE.

We reaffirm our unswerving devotion to the national Constitution and to the indissoluble union of the States; to the

autonomy reserved to the States under the Constitution; to the personal rights and liberties of citizens in all the States and Territories in the Union, and especially to the supreme and sovereign right of every lawful citizen, rich or poor, native or foreign-born, white or black, to cast one free ballot in public elections and to have that ballot duly counted. We hold the free and honest popular ballot and the just and equal representation of all the people to be the foundation of our republican government, and demand effective legislation to secure the integrity and purity of elections, which are the fountains of all public authority. We charge that the present Administration and the Democratic majority in Congress owe their existence to the suppression of the ballot by a criminal nullification of the Constitution and laws of the United States.

PROTECTION TO AMERICAN INDUSTRIES.

We are uncompromisingly in favor of the American system of protection; we protest against its destruction as proposed by the President and his party. They serve the interests of Europe; we will support the interests of America. We accept the issue and confidently appeal to the people for their judgment. The protective system must be maintained. Its abandonment has always been followed by general disaster to all interests, except those of the usurer and the sheriff. We denounce the Mills bill as destructive to the general business, the labor and the farming interests of the country, and we heartily endorse the consistent and patriotic action of the Republican Representatives in Congress in opposing its passage.

OPPOSED TO FREE WOOL.

We condemn the proposition of the Democratic party to place wool on the free list, and we insist that the duties thereon shall be adjusted and maintained so as to furnish full and adequate protection to that industry.

INTERNAL REVENUE.

The Republican party would effect all needed reduction of the national revenue by repealing the taxes upon tobacco,

which are an annoyance and burden to agriculture, and the tax upon spirits used in the arts and for mechanical purposes, and by such revision of the tariff laws as will tend to check imports of such articles as are produced by our people, the production of which gives employment to our labor, and release from import duties those articles of foreign production (except luxuries) the like of which cannot be produced at home. If there shall still remain a larger revenue than is requisite for the wants of the Government, we favor the entire repeal of internal taxes rather than the surrender of any part of our protective system, at the joint behests of the whiskey trusts and the agents of foreign manufactures.

FOREIGN CONTRACT LABOR.

We declare our hostility to the introduction into this country of foreign contract labor and of Chinese labor, alien to our civilization and our Constitution, and we demand the rigid enforcement of the existing laws against it, and favor such immediate legislation as will exclude such labor from our shores.

TRUSTS CONDEMNED.

We declare our opposition to all combinations of capital, organized in trusts or otherwise, to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens; and we recommend to Congress and the State Legislatures, in their respective jurisdictions, such legislation as will prevent the execution of all schemes to oppress the people by undue charges on their supplies, or by unjust rates for the transportation of their products to market. We approve the legislation by Congress to prevent alike unjust burdens and unfair discriminations between the States.

HOMES FOR THE PEOPLE.

We reaffirm the policy of appropriating the public lands of the United States to be homesteads for American citizens and settlers, not aliens, which the Republican party established in 1862, against the persistent opposition of the Democrats in Congress, and which has brought our great Western domain

into such magnificent development. The restoration of unearned railroad land-grants to the public domain for the use of actual settlers, which was begun under the Administration of President Arthur, should be continued. We deny that the Democratic party has ever restored one acre to the people, but declare that by the joint action of the Republicans and Democrats about 50,000,000 of acres of unearned lands originally granted for the construction of railroads have been restored to the public domain, in pursuance of the conditions inserted by the Republican party in the original grants. We charge the Democratic Administration with failure to execute the laws securing to settlers title to their homesteads, and with using appropriations made for that purpose to harass innocent settlers with spies and prosecutions under the false pretense of exposing frauds and vindicating the law.

HOME RULE IN TERRITORIES.

The government by Congress of the Territories is based upon necessity only, to the end that they may become States in the Union: therefore, whenever the conditions of population, material resources, public intelligence, and morality are such as to insure a stable local government therein, the people of such Territories should be permitted, as a right inherent in them, the right to form for themselves constitutions and State governments, and be admitted into the Union. Pending the preparation for Statehood, all officers thereof should be selected from the *bona fide* residents and citizens of the Territory wherein they are to serve.

ADMIT SOUTH DAKOTA.

South Dakota should of right be immediately admitted as a State in the Union, under the constitution framed and adopted by her people, and we heartily endorse the action of the Republican Senate in twice passing bills for her admission. The refusal of the Democratic House of Representatives, for partisan purposes, to favorably consider these bills, is a wilful violation of the sacred American principle of local self-govern-

ment, and merits the condemnation of all just men. The pending bills in the Senate for acts to enable the people of Washington, North Dakota, and Montana Territories to form constitutions and establish State governments should be passed without unnecessary delay. The Republican party pledges itself to do all in its power to facilitate the admission of the Territories of New Mexico, Wyoming, Idaho, and Arizona to the enjoyment of self-government as States; such of them as are now qualified, as soon as possible, and the others as soon as they may become so.

MORMONISM.

The political power of the Mormon Church in the Territories as exercised in the past is a menace to free institutions, a danger no longer to be suffered. Therefore we pledge the Republican party to appropriate legislation asserting the sovereignty of the Nation in all Territories where the same is questioned, and in furtherance of that end to place upon the statute-books legislation stringent enough to divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power and thus stamp out the attendant wickedness of polygamy.

BI-METALLISM.

The Republican party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money, and condemns the policy of the Democratic administration in its efforts to demonetize silver.

ONE CENT POSTAGE.

We demand the reduction of letter-postage to one cent per ounce.

FREE SCHOOLS.

In a republic like ours, where the citizen is the sovereign and the official the servant, where no power is exercised except by the will of the people, it is important that the sovereign—the people—should possess intelligence. The free school is the promoter of that intelligence which is to preserve us a free nation; therefore the State or Nation, or both combined, should

support free institutions of learning sufficient to afford to every child growing up in the land the opportunity of a good common-school education.

OUR MERCHANT MARINE.

We earnestly recommend that prompt action be taken by Congress in the enactment of such legislation as will best secure the rehabilitation of our American merchant-marine, and we protest against the passage by Congress of a free-ship bill, as calculated to work injustice to labor by lessening the wages of those engaged in preparing materials as well as those directly employed in our shipyards.

NAVY AND DEFENCES.

We demand appropriations for the early rebuilding of our navy; for the construction of coast fortifications and modern ordnance and other approved modern means of defence for the protection of our defenceless harbors and cities; for the payment of just pensions to our soldiers; for the necessary works of National importance in the improvement of harbors and the channels of internal, coastwise, and foreign commerce; for the encouragement of the shipping interests of the Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific States, as well as for payment of the maturing public debt. This policy will give employment to our labor, activity to our various industries, increase the security of our country, promote trade, open new and direct markets for our produce, and cheapen the cost of transportation. We affirm this to be far better for our country than the Democratic policy of loaning the government's money without interest to "pet banks."

THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

The conduct of foreign affairs by the present Administration has been distinguished by its inefficiency and its cowardice. Having withdrawn from the Senate all pending treaties effected by Republican Administrations for the removal of foreign burdens and restrictions upon our commerce and for its extension into better markets, it has neither effected nor pro-

posed any others in their stead. Professing adherence to the Monroe doctrine, it has seen with idle complacency the extension of foreign influence in Central America and of foreign trade everywhere among our neighbors. It has refused to charter, sanction, or encourage any American organization for constructing the Nicaragua Canal, a work of vital importance to the maintenance of the Monroe doctrine, and of our national influence in Central and South America; and necessary for the development of trade with our Pacific territory, with South America, and with the islands and further coasts of the Pacific Ocean.

OUR FISHERIES.

We arraign the present Democratic Administration for its weak and unpatriotic treatment of the fisheries question, and its pusillanimous surrender of the essential privileges to which our fishing-vessels are entitled in Canadian ports under the treaty of 1818, the reciprocal maritime legislation of 1830, and the comity of nations, and which Canadian fishing-vessels receive in the ports of the United States. We condemn the policy of the present Administration and the Democratic majority in Congress toward our fisheries as unfriendly and conspicuously unpatriotic, and as tending to destroy a valuable national industry and an indispensable resource of defense against a foreign enemy.

PROTECTION AT HOME AND ABROAD.

The name of American applies alike to all citizens of the Republic, and imposes upon all alike the same obligation of obedience to the laws. At the same time, that citizenship is and must be the panoply and safeguard of him who wears it, and protect him, whether high or low, rich or poor, in all his civil rights. It should and must afford him protection at home, and follow and protect him abroad in whatever land he may be on a lawful errand.

CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM.

The men who abandoned the Republican party in 1884 and continue to adhere to the Democratic party have deserted not only the cause of honest government, of sound finance, of freedom, of purity of the ballot, but especially have deserted the cause of reform in the civil service. We will not fail to keep our pledges because they have broken theirs, or because their candidate has broken his. We therefore repeat our declaration of 1884, to wit: "The reform of the civil service auspiciously begun under the Republican Administration should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already etsablished by law to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the object of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectually avoided.

PENSIONS FOR THE SOLDIERS.

The gratitude of the Nation to the defenders of the Union cannot be measured by laws. The legislation of Congress should conform to the pledge made by a loyal people, and be so enlarged and extended as to provide against the possibility that any man who honorably wore the Federal uniform should become the inmate of an alms-house, or dependent upon private charity. In the presence of an overflowing Treasury it would be a public scandal to do less for those whose valorous service preserved the government. We denounce the hostile spirit of President Cleveland in his numerous vetoes of measures for pension relief, and the action of the Democratic House of Representatives in refusing even a consideration of general pension legislation.

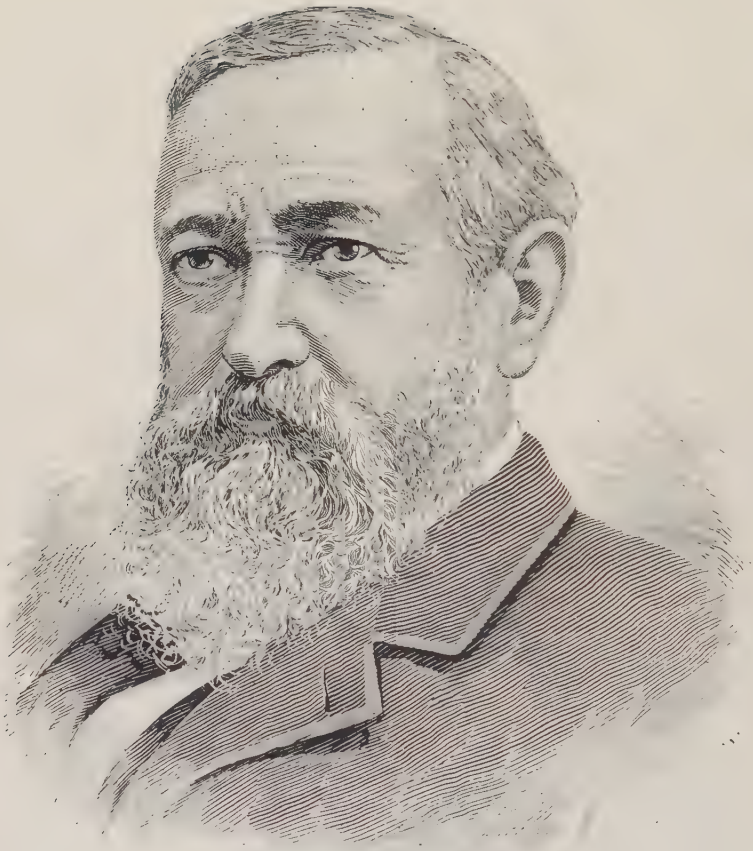
AN INVITATION TO WORKINGMEN.

In support of the principles herewith enunciated, we invite the co-operation of patriotic men of all parties, and especially

of all workingmen, whose prosperity is seriously threatened by the free-trade policy of the present Administration.

TEMPERANCE AND MORALITY.

The first concern of all good government is the virtue and sobriety of the people. The Republican party cordially sympathizes with all wise and well-directed efforts for the promotion of temperance and morality.



Gen. Benj. Harrison

LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES

OF

GENERAL BENJAMIN HARRISON,

Candidate of the Republican Party,

FOR

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

BENJAMIN HARRISON is one of the most democratic of men. He is popular among his neighbors, and his home is always open to them; his manner is frank and cordial; his whole bearing is attractive; he has a singular faculty of making friends. He has risen in Indianapolis from poverty to eminence, and his neighbors, without distinction of party, have joined in congratulations upon his nomination to the high office of President of the United States. And yet, while democratic in his tendencies, he has an illustrious ancestry. The first Harrison that appears prominently in history was an Englishman, who, with Cromwell and his associates, attempted prematurely to found a republic in Great Britain. He had in him the promise and potency of many generations of Republicans. But it is in this country, as patriotic Americans, that the Harrison family have made their most remarkable record.

Benjamin Harrison, the great-grandfather of the present candidate, was a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses when Patrick Henry made his celebrated speech before the Revolution. He was one of Washington's trusted friends; he was elected Governor of Virginia for three successive terms; and he left behind him a record of which his descendants may be justly proud.

His son, William Henry Harrison, afterwards came to be the President of the United States. In his early youth he was a delicate boy, but at the age of nineteen, impressed by

the exigencies of his country, he expressed his determination to join the army on the frontier. This desire on his part was seconded by George Washington, who had seen with his all-observant eye the elements of greatness in the young man, and advised his guardian to allow him to carry out his desire. Before he attained his majority, therefore, he went West as ensign in the United States army to fight the Indians under St. Clair. Within three years he was made a captain and placed in command of Fort Washington, on the present site of Cincinnati. In 1797 he was appointed Secretary of the Northwest Territory, and during the frequent absences of Governor St. Clair he was acting-governor. When the Territory became entitled in 1798 to a delegate in Congress, Harrison was chosen almost unanimously to the post, and distinguished himself at Washington City as he had at Fort Washington. In the year 1800 the "old Northwest" was divided by the setting off of Ohio, and the larger part, including the present States of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, and a part of Minnesota, was put under one administration as the Territory of Indiana, and Harrison was made its Governor. Upon the acquisition of Louisiana, the vast region west of the Mississippi was added to Governor Harrison's jurisdiction. His part in the War of 1812 is known to every schoolboy. It was the year before that, in 1811, that he got the nick-name of Tippecanoe by his successful resistance of an Indian night-attack on his camp, and by his subsequent entire victory over the Indian force.

From 1816 to 1819 he sat in Congress as a representative from Ohio. In 1819 he became a State Senator, and in 1824 a Senator of the United States. At the time of Benjamin Harrison's birth, his grandfather, after all his long career of honors, was a poor man, and was serving as clerk of the Court of Common Pleas in Cincinnati; but greater honors were still in store for him. In 1836 he was the Presidential candidate of the main body of the Whig party, which, although divided and discouraged by Jackson's powerful blows, gave him seventy-three electoral votes. The campaign of 1840, the "log-cabin and hard-cider campaign," in which Harrison was chosen

President by an overwhelming majority of the electoral vote, every one knows of; and the tragedy that followed is one of the saddest in American history.

Little Ben, who was born August 20, 1833, was not yet eight years old when his grandfather died. But his grandfather's personality made a great impression upon him. The Harrison household was the home of pure patriotism and unsullied honor. Scott Harrison, the son of William Henry Harrison, had already shown the same qualities that distinguished his father and grandfather, had served in Congress, and was one of the foremost men in his community, and his son has proved that he is worthy of his progenitors. The Harrisons have been sturdy, strong men, prudent, able in affairs, thoroughly patriotic, popular among their neighbors, a God-fearing, earnest race. It is a good stock, and the present Benjamin is a worthy scion of it. But General Harrison owes little of his prominence or political success to his ancestors. He has won at every step of his career because he has been a true, nobly ambitious, patriotic, courageous, capable and growing man. Whether as lawyer or soldier or statesman, he has always acquitted himself nobly, always done his duty, always been true to his character and convictions as a Christian gentleman.

EARLY LIFE.

The country about Cincinnati was far from being a wilderness in 1840. There were no especially handsome public or private buildings; but the elements of the best civilization were all there. There were hard-working Christian families, there were churches, and there were schools. Any community that has those three things possesses the elements of greatness. It can bring up men and women of the best sort. North Bend must have been a pretty good place to live in in those days, and young Ben made the most of his advantages. He was a good student, and at the public school, and under a private tutor for a little while, he prepared himself to enter the Miami University at the age of sixteen, and he attained graduating honors at eighteen. Among those who attended the Miami University

at the same time with Harrison were Prof. David Swing of Chicago, the Hon. Milton Sayler of Cincinnati, the Rev. Dr. James Brooks of St. Louis, the late Senator Oliver P. Morton of Indiana, and the Hon. W. P. Fishback, who afterwards became Harrison's law partner. Prof. Swing says that Harrison, while at Oxford, though very young, was a studious scholar, and early gave evidence of becoming foremost in whatever he might undertake. He there acquired a habit of study and mental discipline which has characterized him through life, enabling him to grapple with any subject on short notice, to concentrate his intellectual forces and give his mental energies that sort of direct and effective operation that indicates the trained and disciplined mind. Almost immediately on leaving college, young Harrison began the study of the law in Cincinnati in the office of Judge Bellamy Storer. He was admitted to the bar before he was twenty-one years old. In October, 1853, still before he had attained his majority, he married Miss Carrie L. Scott, daughter of the Rev. J. W. Scott of Oxford, Ohio, and sister of Judge John N. Scott of Indianapolis. In 1854 he removed to Indianapolis, his capital consisting of two hundred dollars and a good wife. The first house that he lived in in Indianapolis is still standing. He was young and unknown, but he had ability, industry, and frugality, and he soon began to make headway.

HARRISON AS A LAWYER

One of his earliest cases brought him into prominence. He was selected as assistant prosecutor in a case which involved the wholesale attempted murder of persons in a hotel by introducing poison into the coffee. He had no experience in poison cases, no knowledge of poisons. He was appointed late in the conduct of the case; only one night remained in which to prepare for the trial. He called to his aid a young doctor whom he knew, and who has since become famous in his profession, and spent the whole night with him in preparation of the case. The surprise of the defense when young Harrison appeared the next day fully armed with all necessary details for the conviction of the poisoner may be better im-

agined than described. He won his case, and from that time forward he was fully employed. Ever since then he has been one of the most prominent figures at the Indiana bar, and is now generally acknowledged to stand at its head. As a lawyer, he exhibited the same qualities that have characterized him throughout his career. His former partner, the Hon. W. P. Fishback, says: "He possesses all the qualities of a great lawyer in rare combination. He prepares a case with consummate skill; his written pleadings are models of clearness and brevity; he is peerless in Indiana as an examiner of witnesses; he discusses a legal question in a written brief or in oral argument with convincing logic, and as an advocate it may be said of him that when he has finished an address to the jury nothing remains to be said on that side of the case. I have often heard able lawyers in Indiana and elsewhere say that he was the hardest man to follow they had ever met. No lawyer who ever met General Harrison in a legal encounter has afterwards placed a small estimate upon his ability."

EARLY CAMPAIGNS.

General Harrison has been a Republican ever since the birth of the Republican party. His first speeches were made in the campaign of 1856. He says that he was drafted into the service of the Republican party, and after having refused, from modesty, to make a speech was carried feet first into the room where the audience was assembled, and compelled to declare his political faith; but it may be easily imagined that the young orator found little difficulty in making a campaign speech for the candidates and the principles in whose success his heart and his mind were fully engaged. The reputation that he made in 1856 brought him prominently forward in 1860. It is recollected by some of the old residents of Indiana that in that year he and Mr. Hendricks, who was then, as he was afterwards, the most prominent Democratic champion in the State, happened to have an appointment to speak in the same town on the same day. It was arranged that they should divide the time, and Mr. Hendricks no doubt expected to have

the easiest kind of work in disposing of his young antagonist, but he found to his great surprise and discomfiture that he had undertaken a great deal more than could be easily performed. The result of the meeting was afterwards pithily expressed by the chairman when he said, "I have heard a good many political debates in my day, but I never heard a man skin an opponent as quickly as Ben Harrison did Hendricks that day." The Democrats admitted that Hendricks had fairly met his match, and the Republicans roundly asserted that he had been badly worsted by the young champion.

In this same year, at the age of twenty-seven, he sought and obtained at the hands of the people the position of reporter of the Supreme Court of Indiana for four years. This is the position of which he has said recently that it was the only place he ever sought, and he sought that because he needed its salary.

IN THE WAR OF THE REBELLION.

In the duties of this position and in the general practice of the law he passed his time until 1862. The early reverses of the Union armies in the War of the Rebellion had affected him as they did all patriotic citizens. He had not at first conceived it to be his duty to go to the front; but in 1862, when the Union armies had met with decided reverses and when the services of every loyal man who could bear arms were needed in the field, he responded cordially to Oliver P. Morton's invitation when that great war governor said to him, "Ben, I want you to raise a regiment." He did raise a regiment, and was commissioned first a lieutenant, then a captain, and then colonel of the 70th Indiana Regiment. For a time Colonel Harrison had very little to do but garrison duty in Kentucky and Tennessee. He was impatient with the delay in getting to the front, but he made use of his time to good advantage. Some of the men grumbled at this time over the severe discipline of their colonel; he had them drilled and instructed in tactics, as thoroughly as if they were at a military school. But after they got into action they were grateful to their commander for this previous drill. His command was one

of the most efficient of all those which served under "Fighting Joe" Hooker. Their previous discipline had made them cool under fire, and had given them implicit confidence in the leadership of their young colonel. They were ready to follow him anywhere, and they did follow him to good purpose. At the battle of Resaca they made, under his leadership and without other orders, one of the most brilliant charges of the war, going forward up a hill under hot fire and capturing a rebel battery. General Harrison led his regiment, brandishing a sword in one hand and a revolver in the other. A former member of the regiment has said of this battle:

"I never saw a braver man than General Harrison. The battle of Resaca was fought on a bright spring day, May 15, 1864. Our brigade, which was commanded by Colonel Harrison, owing to the wounding of Brigadier-General Ward, had to charge across an open field and up a steep ridge at the enemy. Harrison led the way, waving his sword and his revolver. The rebels poured a most destructive fire into us as we crossed the open field, and killed many of our men. At the foot of the ridge there were little trees. We struggled through these, and then dashed at the entrenchments of the rebels on the ridge above. In front of their works they had four cannon, which blazed away at us as we climbed the ridge. They had time to load again before we could reach them, bnt we were so close to them that one of our men was knocked down with a cannon-rammer by a rebel.

"'Drop down,' said Harrison, as he saw the rebels were about to fire the cannon again; but he, himself, was the last man to drop. The rebels fired over us, and we dashed over their works and captured the cannon. They were the only cannon taken in the campaign. Harrison captured one of the cannoneers himself, dragging him from beneath the cannon. I was shot by a rebel infantryman just before the cannon."

Another, who served under him at Resaca, gives this testimony:

"As an officer, General Harrison was noted as a disciplinarian. Many of his men who had been unused to restraint thought him at first tyrannical and exacting, but when the reg-

iment got into active service they all saw the immense benefit resulting from his strict discipline, and, whatever they thought of it at first, forgave him for it afterward. Remarkably cool under fire, no one ever saw him manifest the slightest indication of fear. He shrank from no duty, however dangerous it might be, nor did he ever shirk the slightest responsibility. Conscientious and faithful to the last degree, he threw his whole heart and soul into the service. No officer was more beloved by his men than was General Harrison, The privates of his regiments would have died for him to a man. His call to them was always, 'Come on, boys,' and never, 'Go on, boys.' His motto was (I know, at least, his conduct showed it): 'I will never ask my men to do anything that I would not do myself;' and of course the boys had a deep respect and affection for such an officer. We went into the fight at Resaca with 600 men, and lost 257 killed and wounded. General Harrison was in the thickest of the fight, and never flinched once. I remember a charge on a battery in one of the battles where we had to cross a ravine and charge up a hill on the rebels. A whole corps was supporting that battery. We ran up the hill, fell down on our breasts, loaded and sprang up again, and so on until we got within a few paces of the enemy. I remember seeing General Harrison standing up there right in front of the rebels, waving his sword in one hand and brandishing a revolver in the other. I tell you there was no discount on him as a soldier. He was as good as the best, as every man that saw him in the war will tell you. We were on garrison duty for some time after we went out, and I know it was a great dissatisfaction to General Harrison to be kept at that kind of warfare. He chafed under it and wanted to get to the front, and when he got there he rendered valued service. He was peculiarly kind to his men. I have seen him give up his horse on a long march to a weary soldier, and shoulder the private's gun and march along with the regiment. I remember once he did me that kindness. I have always loved him and admired him, and I might say I have always insisted that he would one day be President of these United States."

It was after this charge that General Joe Hooker, riding up

to Harrison and shaking his hand, exclaimed impulsively, "Ben Harrison, I'll make you a brigadier for this day's work!" And Hooker kept his word, for in the records of the War Department is preserved this dispatch:

"HEADQUARTERS NORTHERN DEPARTMENT,
CINCINNATI, O., October 31, 1864.

"*The Hon. E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War.*

"I desire to call the attention of the Department to the claims of Col. Benjamin Harrison, of the Seventieth Indiana Volunteers, for promotion to the rank of brigadier-general of volunteers.

"Col. Harrison first joined me in command of a brigade of Ward's division in Lookout Valley, preparatory to entering upon what is called the campaign of Atlanta. My attention was first attracted to this young officer by the superior excellence of his brigade in discipline and instruction, the result of his labor, skill and devotion. With more foresight than I have witnessed in any officer of his experience, he seemed to act upon the principle that success depended upon the thorough preparation in discipline and *esprit* of his command for conflict more than on any influence that could be exerted in the field itself; and when the collision came, his command vindicated his wisdom as much as his valor. In all the achievements of the Twentieth Corps in that campaign Col. Harrison bore a conspicuous part. At Resaca and Peach Tree Creek the conduct of himself and command was especially distinguished. Col. Harrison is an officer of superior abilities and of great professional and personal worth. It gives me great pleasure to commend him favorably to the honorable Secretary, with the assurance that his preferment will be a just recognition of his services and martial accomplishments.

"Respectfully your obedient servant

"JOSEPH HOOKER, *Major-General Commanding.*

Such praise for superb fighting qualities, by such a splendid judge of them as Hooker, is worth whole columns of detail as to the honorable, consistent, and noble military career of Gen-

eral Harrison. One or two other incidents of his war record may find a place here.

"I was at Bowling Green," said he recently, "and the fugitive slaves were continually coming into our camp, and their masters after them. I recollect receiving from post headquarters an order to deliver over to a certain white man a negro man who was in my camp, and the proud satisfaction with which I indorsed upon the order of my commanding general—'I decline to obey this order.'"

Since his nomination, many dispatches from old soldiers of his command have been received, of which this is a fair sample:

"Congratulations from an old soldier of your regiment, whose knapsack you carried when he was exhausted from sickness and fatigue in the Atlanta campaign.

"J. F. SNOW, *Private Co. D, 70th Indiana.*"

Still another old companion in arms furnishes this anecdote:

"In the battle of Peach Tree Creek, one of the fights before Atlanta, the surgeon of Harrison's brigade was lost. No one knew where he was, but he had disappeared. My recollection is that in the rapidly-changing movements the surgeon and his assistants had become entangled with another brigade, and were so overwhelmed with duty there that they couldn't get back to their own command. However that may be, when the fight was over our field-hospital was full of wounded and there was no one to attend them.

"The General just threw off his coat, tore his own tent into strips, and went about bandaging wounds. He even tore his shirt off his back and used it up in bandaging the boys' wounds. When surgical help arrived I remember what a sight the General was. Both his arms were bare, and they were covered with blood from shoulders to finger-tips."

Four days after the nomination, General Harrison spoke as follows to a delegation of several hundred of his old comrades:

"I remember that summer day, when, equipped and armed, we were called to leave our homes, cross the Ohio River and enter the territory that was in arms against the government

which we had sworn to support. I recall, with you, the tender parting, the wringing of hearts with which we left those we loved. I recall the high and buoyant determination, the resolute carriage, with which you went to do your part in the work of suppressing the great rebellion. I remember the scenes through which we went in that discipline of service and sickness, and all of those hard incidents which are necessary to convert citizens into veterans. I remember the scenes of battle in which we stood together. I remember especially that broad and deep grave at the foot of the Resaca Hill, where we left those gallant comrades who fell in that desperate charge. I remember through it all the gallantry, devotion, and steadfastness, the highest patriotism, you always exhibited. I remember how, after sweeping down with Sherman from Chattanooga to the sea, and up again through the Carolinas and Virginia, you, with those gallant armies that had entered the gate of the South by Louisville and Vicksburg, marched in the great review up the grand avenue of our National Capital. I remember that proud scene of which we were part that day—the glad rejoicing as our faces were turned homeward, the applause which greeted us as the banner of our regiment was now and then recognized by some home friends who had gathered to see us;—the whole course of these incidents—of battle, of sickness, of death, of victory, crowned thus by the triumphant resurrection of national authority, and by the muster-out and our return to those homes that we loved, made again secure against all the perils which had threatened them.

"I feel that in this campaign upon which I am entering, and which will undoubtedly cause careful scrutiny, perhaps unkind and even malicious assaults, all that relates to my not conspicuous but loyal services with you in the army I may confidently leave with honor in the hands of the surviving members of the 70th Indiana, whatever their political faith may be."

A day later he spoke to a number of the survivors of his old regiment in this glowing strain:

"The comradeship of the war will never end until our lives end. The fires in which our friendship was united and welded were too hot for the bond ever to be broken. We sympa-

thize with each other in the glory of the common cause for which we fought. We went, not as partisans, but as patriots, into this strife, which involved the national life. I am sure that no army was ever assembled in the world's history that was gathered from higher impulses than the army of the Union. It was no sordid impulse, no hope of spoils, that induced these men to sunder tender associations of home, and forsake their business pursuits, to look into the grim face of death with unblanched cheeks and firm and resolute eyes. They were the kind of men who drew their impulse from the higher springs of truth and duty. The army was great in its assembling. It came with an impulse that was majestic and terrible. It was as great in its muster-out as in the brilliant work which had been done in the field. When the war was over, the soldier was not left at the tavern. Every man had, in some humble place, a chair by some fireside, where he was loved and to which his heart went forward with a quick step. And so this great army that had rallied for the defense and preservation of the country was disbanded without tumult or riot or any public disturbance. It had covered the country with the mantle of its protection, when it needed it, as the snows of spring cover the early vegetation, and when the warm sun of peace shone upon it it disappeared, as the snow sunk into the earth to refresh and vivify the summer's growth.

"They found their homes, they carried their brawn and intellect into all the pursuits of peace, to stimulate them and lift them up; they added their great impulse to that wave of prosperity which has swept over our country ever since. But in nothing was this war greater than in that we led a race into freedom, and brought those whom we had conquered in the struggle into the full enjoyment of a restored citizenship, and shared again with them the responsibilities and duties of a restored government. I thank you to-night most sincerely for this evidence of your comradeship. I thank especially those friends who differ with me in their political views that they have put these things aside to-night and have come here to give me comrade's greeting. May I have the privilege now, without detaining you longer, of taking by the hand every soldier here?"

A man who can talk like that is anything but a 'cold' man. He may have a cool head, but his heart is warm, and all the old soldiers know it. So do our colored citizens know it. General Harrison's address before the Harrison Club of Indianapolis, an organization composed of colored men, has been widely read and universally appreciated by the colored people. He said:

"Nothing gives me so much gratification as a Republican as to feel that in all the steps that led to this great result the Republican party sympathized with you, pioneered for you in legislation, and was the architect of those great measures of relief which have so much ameliorated your condition. I know nowhere in this country of a monument that I behold with so much interest, that touches so deeply my heart, as that monument at Washington representing the proclamation of emancipation by President Lincoln, the kneeling black man at the feet of the martyred President with the shackles falling from his limbs.

"I shall never forget a scene that I witnessed when Sherman's army marched through a portion of North Carolina between Raleigh and Richmond, where our troops had never before been. The colored people had not seen our flag since the banner of treason had been set up in its stead. As we were passing through a village the colored people flocked out to see once more the starry banner of freedom, the emblem of promise and security of their emancipation. I remember an aged woman, over whom nearly a century of slavery must have passed, press forward to see this welcome banner. I remember her exaltation of spirit as she danced in the dusty road before our moving column, and, like Miriam of old, called upon her soul to rejoice in the deliverance which God had wrought by the coming of those who stood for and made secure the proclamation of emancipation.

"I rejoice in all that you have accomplished since you have been free. I recall no scene more pathetic than that which I have often seen about our camp-fires. An aged man, a fugitive from slavery, had found freedom in our camp. After a day of hard work, when taps had sounded and the lights in the tents were out, I have seen him, with the spelling-book that the

chaplain had given him, lying prone upon the ground, taxing his old eyes and pointing with his hardened finger to the letters of the alphabet as he endeavored to open to his clouded mind the avenues of information and light. I am glad to know that that same desire to increase and enlarge your information possesses the race to-day. It is the open way for the race to that perfect emancipation which will remove remaining prejudices, and secure to you in all parts of the land an equal and just participation in the government of this country. It cannot much longer be withholden from you. Again I thank you for your presence here to-night, and will be glad to take by the hand those of you who desire to see me."

Gen. Harrison fought with Sherman through the Atlanta campaign, and was mustered out at the close of the war. His war record will bear comparison with that of any man who entered the Union army. He won every commission that he obtained. His first he won by raising a regiment, and every subsequent one came to him as a reward for bravery and splendid leadership. The qualities that he displayed then have marked his whole subsequent career. His nature is one thoroughly executive; he is a natural leader of men; he always endeavors to find out what the best thing is to be done under the circumstances, and does it to the best of his ability.

While he was still in the field in 1864, his four years' term as Reporter of the Supreme Court of Indiana ran out. The Indiana Legislature, which was Democratic, desired to obtain his place for a Democrat, but the Republicans renominated him for the office, and under the orders of the War Department he reported to Governor Morton on thirty days' leave of absence. After a brilliant canvass of the State he was re-elected by a large majority. At the end of his leave of absence, he rejoined the army and served with Sherman until the end of the war. When this term expired, he was requested to become again a candidate for the place, but he refused, believing that his duty to his family required that he should devote his whole time to the practice of the law, by the exercise of which he was now making a larger income than he could have made in an official position. At this practice he worked for eight years, and during

this period he did not appear prominently in public life, although he was called upon frequently by the Republican managers whenever a good speech was needed in the party campaigns.

It is as well known as any fact in history that during the war Indiana was a hot-bed of copperheadism. It was there that the Knights of the Golden Circle had their headquarters; it was there that many plots for the defeat of the Union Government were hatched; and it was there that men banded themselves together for the purpose of carrying out these treasonable designs. Such men as these were, of course, the enemies of Ben Harrison, and have been ever since. But their enmity was no detriment to him, and now it can only be regarded as a decoration.

CAMPAIGN FOR GOVERNOR.

At the end of these eight quiet years, he was called upon once more to lead his party in a contest that was almost hopeless, but which appealed to his party fealty and his loyalty. Godlove S. Orth had been nominated for Governor by the Republicans, but owing to the publication of a scandal concerning his late service in Congress he withdrew from the ticket. It was a Presidential year, the Democrats were almost sure of carrying the Presidential election, Indiana was an October State, and it was absolutely necessary for the hopes of the Republican party that as strong a canvass as possible should be made. Under these circumstances Mr. Harrison was called upon to take the nomination. He had previously declined it in advance of the meeting of the convention. He did not want the place; he felt that for his own private interests he would do better to devote his time to the practice of the law: but his loyalty to his party prevailed; he accepted the nomination, and plunged into the canvass with all his energy. He traveled the entire length of the State, speaking everywhere to immense audiences; he awoke marked enthusiasm: but, as will be remembered by every one, Indiana was carried that year for Tilden and Hendricks; the issues of the national campaign overshadowed the State issues entirely, and General Harrison

was defeated. He polled, however, two thousand votes more than the average of his ticket. It was in that year that Mr. W. H. Barnum, then, as now, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, sent the famous order to Indiana to buy more "mules." The "mules" prevailed in 1876; but although General Harrison was defeated, he gained more honor in defeat than many leaders had in victory, and obtained a national prominence, the promise of which his subsequent career has more than made good.

THE GREAT RAILROAD STRIKE.

In 1877 occurred one of the great crises in the history of the country, brought about by the wide-spread railroad strikes. Indianapolis is a railroad centre of great importance, and the disturbance there threatened to become a riot as disastrous as that which laid part of Pittsburg in ruins at the same time. It was a crisis that tested the mettle and manhood and sagacity of the ablest leaders of both parties. At such a time there was no distinction of Democrats and Republicans, but all acted together for the public welfare. The Democratic Governor Williams, the Democratic Senator Joseph McDonald, and other leading Democrats co-operated with General Harrison, General Gresham, Albert G. Porter, and other leading Republicans in preserving the public peace. They formed a Committee of Public Safety. The governor issued a proclamation which was not heeded by the strikers. A committee on mediation was appointed to see whether some concession could not be made on both sides, and to counsel with the strikers with a view of ending the trouble by peaceable means if possible. This committee met with the railroad men, and General Harrison made an eloquent and logical speech, replete with legal lore and sound good sense. He counseled obedience to the law, but at the same time strongly expressed the opinion that the wages, as stated, were too low, and desired very much that they should be raised. He was willing to use his influence with those in authority in favor of this desired increase. The settlement was not immediately brought about. There was still danger of violence, and Governor Williams showed his sense of the

superior qualifications of General Harrison by asking him to take command of all the volunteer militia. This he refused to do, as he was already the commander of a company; but he recommended the appointment of General Daniel MacAuley to command the militia, he to serve under MacAuley. His suggestion was adopted by the governor. General Harrison was captain of one of the militia companies and General Gresham of another. Harrison's company was detailed to the protection of the United States Armory, in which there were stored 300,000 Springfield rifles and ammunition for them. Only twenty United States soldiers were on guard at the armory when General Harrison and his company reached the grounds; he at once put the place in a complete state of defense, and in the mean time exerted all his influence to bring about a peaceable solution of the difficulty. He was urged not only to defend the property of the United States and of the State, but to go out and attack the strikers. His answer was, "I don't propose to go out and shoot down my neighbors, unless it is positively necessary to do so in order to uphold the law;" and when the strike ended and the peril was over, he interceded, with all his powerful influence, for the release of about two hundred misguided strikers who had been arrested for interfering with the operations of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad, then in the hands of a receiver. Since his nomination General Harrison has been attacked by certain demagogues for his part in suppressing the railroad riot of 1877, but it is not probable that such attacks will last until the end of the campaign.

Even General Harrison's old political foe, Senator Voorhees, said: "I don't think that will cut much of a figure as an issue in this campaign. Ben Harrison and the rest of us worked together during all that time; we just simply endeavored to preserve peace and good order, and I cannot remember that General Harrison was different from any of the rest of us in sentiment or in action toward the strikers." This testimony of a life-long political enemy shows what advantage there is to General Harrison in the revival of interest in his conduct during a period that was far more trying than any that happened during the war, and that tested equally both his heroism and

his humanity. The more this episode is understood, the more universal will be the appreciation of his character and the feeling that he unites the qualities that will fit him for trying national exingencies in which the President's equality to the demands on his courage, his coolness, his judgment, and his sense of right and of humanity may be of incalculable importance.

A UNITED STATES SENATOR.

In 1880, when Roscoe Conkling went to Indiana to make campaign speeches, he was asked: "How is New York going in November?" He is said to have answered: "You tell me how Indiana will go in October, and I will tell you how New York will go in November." General Harrison took a prominent part in the campaign of 1880, and after the great victory of that year, when the Republicans carried the State and elected a majority of the legislature, the eyes of all Republicans turned naturally to Benjamin Harrison as the proper representative of Indiana in the United States Senate. When the caucus met, no other candidate was named. He was elected by the unanimous vote of the Republicans, and their choice excited a lively satisfaction throughout the State.

General Harrison took his seat in the United States Senate on the 4th of March, 1881. The Senate was Republican by a small majority. He was a new member. He had never been in the Lower House of Congress, and yet he took almost at once a leading position on the Republican side. He ranked immediately with the leaders of that party in the Senate. Although almost destitute of legislative experience, he showed the innate qualities of his mind by mastering the course of parliamentary procedure, by acquainting himself thoroughly with the details of the measures that were to come before the Senate, by facilitating whenever it was possible the business under consideration by judicious suggestions, and by initiating legislation of great importance. It is usually the case that a Senator in his first term for the most part keeps silent; he is expected to take a year or two, at least, to learn the ways of the Senate: but General Harrison did not need this preliminary

tutelage. He seemed intuitively to grasp the situation. He accommodated himself at once to the ways of the Senate. His value as a working member soon became apparent, and he was appointed on some of the most important senatorial committees. He served as Chairman on the Committee of Territories; he was a member of the Committees on Military affairs, on Indian Affairs, on Foreign Relations, and on Expenditures of Public Money. Much of his best work was done in the committees. His faculty of clear, colloquial statement, his easy mastery of details, his suavity, all combined to render him a valuable member of the bodies that do the real work of the Senate. He made very few long speeches; he never talked for effect; his method of oratory is not at all rhetorical; but he was nevertheless, a constant debater; his impress is to be seen on a large part of the legislation of the Senate from 1881 to 1887, and there was scarcely a measure that was passed by that body during that time that was not materially assisted to its final passage by the advice of General Harrison. The more his record in the Senate is studied, the clearer will be his claim to a high place among law-makers. He was a working legislator. Never flighty, never impracticable, he always took the situation as it was, and endeavored to make the best of it. Many of the laws that are now on the statute-books bear his impress in their wording; his amendments were always in the direction of clearness and comprehensibility. His Dakota report as Chairman of the Committee on Territories, and his speeches upholding that report; his speech on the Edmunds resolution concerning civil-service reform; his speech condemning the wholesale importation of contract labor; his speech against alien ownership of large tracts of the national domain; his pithy criticisms and numerous amendments to the Blair bill for improving the common-school education of the South; his record on the Chinese legislation—show the variety of his interests and the breadth of view which enabled him to comprehend legislation on many different lines, and to suggest many improvements in measures introduced by men who had devoted more time than he had to the consideration of special topics.

THE CHINESE.

As to the Chinese question, his record is clear. When the first attempts were made at anti-Chinese legislation, Mr. Harrison shared the opinion of most of the ablest lawyers in the Senate that, under existing treaties, laws against the admission of the Chinese were unconstitutional, and had no hesitation in saying so. He believed that it was desirable to shut out these people, but he did not believe in breaking the faith of the United States by a violation of the treaty, even to accomplish a desirable end. When the so-called Page bill came before the Senate, he was a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations, and voted with the rest of the committee to report the bill favorably, and when the bill came before the Senate it was passed with the aid of his vote. Again, in the Forty-ninth Congress, when the Fair bill came up, Mr. Harrison voted for its passage both in the committee and in the Senate. He is therefore fully in accord with the Chicago platform on the question of foreign immigration.

FOREIGN CONTRACT LABOR.

On the question of foreign contract labor in general, Mr. Harrison is on record as having said in the Senate:

"If I understand the evil sought to be guarded against by this bill, it is that men living in foreign countries, where the rate of wages and the condition of labor are so different from what they are in this country, shall not there, under the consideration that is upon them, make a contract, which is of course governed by rates of wages there, that puts them in the power of the person furnishing the money, when they come to this country, and has a tendency to import the rates of foreign labor and establish them here."

But while Senator Harrison is not in favor of the introduction of foreign contract labor, he does believe thoroughly in the right of citizenship of any foreigners now living in this country, and has vindicated the right of foreign-born citizens to all the privileges that can be offered to a native by our

American Constitution. In the course of a debate on excluding immigration he said, in reply to Senator Ransom:

"Do I understand the Senator from North Carolina to desire to make a discrimination against those immigrants who have been but one month upon our shores and are here laboring for their own maintenance and that of their families? Do they appeal less strongly to his sympathies for protection than those who have been here one year or are native-born? The man whom the Senator characterizes as a pauper laborer abroad, if brought in competition, ceases to be a pauper and becomes a participant not only in the political and social, but in the industrial benefits of this country, when he declares his citizenship and settles among us."

ALIEN OWNERSHIP IN LAND.

As to one other form of foreign influence on America, Senator Harrison was very decided in his opinion; it was complained that large tracts of our public domain were bought up by foreign speculators, and that aliens held vast estates in America greater than any landed estates in Europe. In relation to these, in his report Mr. Harrison said:

"I ask leave to say, at this time, that I know of few measures of greater importance than this. I noticed recently in one of the Chicago papers the results of some inquiry upon this subject, and it seemed to indicate that vast tracts of our domain, not simply the public domain on the frontier, but in some of our newer States, are passing into the hands of wealthy foreigners.

"It seems that the land reforms in Ireland, and the movement in England in favor of the reduction of large estates and the distribution of the lands among persons who will cultivate them for their own use, are disturbing the investments of some Englishmen, and that some of them are looking to this country for the acquisition of vast tracts of land which may be held by them and let out to tenants, out of the rents of which they may live abroad.

I think this evil requires early attention, and that Congress

should by law restrain the acquisition of such tracts of land by aliens. Our policy should be small farms worked by the men who own them."

Not only does General Harrison stand squarely on the Chicago platform on the question of Chinese immigration, but on every other issue on which that platform has formulated the Republican doctrine. He believes thoroughly in the Republican party; he has been a Republican since the birth of the party; he has favored all the great constructive measures that the party has adopted since 1860. He has been with it in the hour of victory; he has assisted it in putting upon the statute-book its historical record; he stood by it in its hour of defeat; he is ready to advance with it once more to a glorious triumph.

His opinion of the Democratic party, and incidentally of what the Republican party has been able to accomplish in the last twenty-five years, is brought out clearly and vigorously in a speech that he made in Des Moines, Iowa, in 1883:

"What does the Democratic party stand for? What are its principles? What new direction would be given to the old ship if the helm should pass into the hands of the Democrats? I know what that party has been against. It has been an 'against' party. [Laughter.] It was against freedom in Kansas; it was against the war; it was against the draft; it was against emancipation; it was against a greenback currency; it was against reconstruction; it was against the amendments; it was against the Ku-Klux laws; it was against the Civil Rights bill; it was against the act to strengthen the public credit; it was against the resumption of specie payments. But it is not against any of these things now—it is underneath them. The country in its grand sweep has left all these things to history; they are no longer subjects of debate—they are historical facts; they are the sunlighted peaks of our most brilliant and eventful epoch. We have climbed the rugged and bloody pass. The lowering clouds have lifted or have fallen in refreshing showers. It is a time of peace and amazing prosperity throughout the land. So far as legislation and public administration can shape the course of events, these things have come because of the wise, courageous, and patriotic legis-

THE PRESENT HOME AND THE BIRTHPLACE OF GEN. HARRISON.

lation of the Republican party [applause]; they have come because the Democratic party has been in a minority."

In the same speech he said:

"The Democratic party never consents that a thing ought to be done until after the Republican party has done it."

And he added that "the satisfaction which the Democrats find in counting the years of their party grows largely out of the fact that it has nothing satisfactory in its achievements. And this will also account for the fact that Democrats who are talking about the ever-living Democracy grow fretful when we boast, not of the years of our party, but of what it has done [applause]; not of a long life, but of a short one crowded full of high achievements."

General Harrison has always avoided all sorts of sensationalism in the Senate and elsewhere. He is a close and strong reasoner; he has the logic of his earnest convictions, and never seeks rhetorical effects only; he depends on the effectiveness of the truths he presents with remarkable clearness and vigor, and appeals to the conscience and reason of his listeners. But he has also the faculty of stating great political facts in such a manner that they become intensely vivid and impressive. The extracts just quoted from his Des Moines speech show this quality as clearly as anything that could be presented.

A FREE VOTE AND A FAIR COUNT.

The first plank in Republican platforms for several Presidential campaigns has been one declaring the belief of the Republican party in a fair vote and an honest count, and its purpose to obtain a fair vote and an honest count by any means possible. Such a vote and such a count are the foundations of the Republic. Popular government cannot long exist without these guarantees for its continuance. A government for the people must be of the people and by the people. This doctrine, first stated by the Republican martyred President, has been thoroughly ingrained into the consciousness of Republicans by events which have occurred during and since the war. It is right and fitting that the first plank in the Republican

platform should be one declaring for a free ballot and a fair count. General Harrison's position on this question is clearly stated in his speech of March 20th last, before the Marquette Club of Chicago, when he said:

"Now, what conclusion shall we draw? Is there anything in this story, so briefly and imperfectly told, to suggest any conclusion as to the inadequacy or incompetency of the Republican party to deal with any question that is now presented for solution, or that we may meet in the progress of this people's history? Why, countrymen, these problems in government were new. We took the ship of state when there was treachery at the helm, when there was mutiny on the deck, when the ship was among the rocks, and we put loyalty at the helm; we brought the deck into order and subjection. We have brought the ship into the wide and open sea of prosperity; and is it to be suggested that the party that has accomplished these magnificent achievements cannot sail and manage the good ship in the frequented roadways of ordinary commerce? What is there now before us that presents itself for solution?

"What questions are we to grapple with? What unfinished work remains to be done? It seems to me that the work that is unfinished is to make that constitutional grant of citizenship, the franchise to the colored men of the South, a practical and living reality. [Great applause.] The condition of things is such in this country—a government by constitutional majority—that whenever the people become convinced that an administration or a law does not represent the will of the majority of our qualified electors, then that administration ceases to challenge the respect of our people, and the law ceases to command their willing obedience. This is a republican government, a government by majority, the majorities to be ascertained by a fair count, and each elector expressing his will at the ballot-box. I know of no reason why any law should bind my conscience that does not have this sanction behind it. I know of no reason why I should yield respect to any executive officer whose title is not based upon a majority vote of the qualified electors of this country. [Applause.] What is the condition of things in the Southern States to-day?

"The Republican vote is absolutely suppressed. Elections in many of those States have become a farce. In the last Congressional election in the State of Alabama there were several Congressional districts where the entire vote for members of Congress did not reach 2000; whereas in most of the districts of the North the vote cast at our Congressional elections goes from 30,000 to 50,000. I had occasion to say a day or two ago that in a single Congressional district in the State of Nebraska there were more votes cast to elect one Congressman than were cast in the State of Alabama at the same election to elect their whole delegation. Out of what does this come? The suppression of the Republican vote; the understanding among our Democratic friends that it is not necessary that they should vote, because their opponents are not allowed to vote. But some one will suggest: 'Is there a remedy for this?' I do not know, my fellow-citizens, how far there is a legal remedy under our Constitution, but it does not seem to me to be an adequate answer. It does not seem to me to be conclusive against the agitation of this question even if we should be compelled to respond to the arrogant question that is asked us: 'What are you going to do about it?' Even if we should be compelled to answer, 'We can do nothing but protest,' is it not worth while here, and in relation to this American question, that we should at least lift up our protest, that we should at least denounce the wrong, that we should at least deprive the perpetrators of it of what we used to call the usufructs of the crime? If you cannot prevent a burglar from breaking into your house, you will do a great deal toward discouraging burglary if you prevent him from carrying off anything [laughter and applause]; and so it seems to me that if we can, upon this question, arouse the indignant protest of the North, and unite our efforts in a determination that those who perpetrate these wrongs against popular suffrage shall not by means of those wrongs seat a President at Washington to secure the Federal patronage in a State, we shall have done much to bring this wrong to an end. But at least while we are protesting by representatives from our State Department at Washington against wrongs perpetrated in Russia against

the Jew, and in popular assemblies here against the wrongs which England has inflicted upon Ireland, shall we not at least in reference to this gigantic and intolerable wrong in our own country, as a party, lift up a stalwart and determined protest against it? [Applause.]

"But some of these independent journalists, about whom our friend MacMillan talks, call this the 'bloody shirt.' They say we are trying to revive the strife of the war, to rake over the extinct embers, to kindle the fire again. I want it understood that for one I have no quarrel with the South for what took place between 1861 and 1865. I am willing to forget that they were rebels, at least as soon as they are willing to forget it themselves [laughter], and that time does not seem to have come yet to them. [Applause.] But our complaint is against what was done in 1884, not against what was done during the war. Our complaint is against what will be done this year, not what was done between 1861 and 1865. No bloody shirt—though that cry never had any terror for me. [Applause.] I believe we greatly underestimate the importance of bringing the issue to the front, and, with that oft-time Republican courage and outspoken fidelity to truth, denouncing it the land over. If we cannot do anything else, we can either make these people ashamed of this outrage against the ballot or make the world ashamed of them."

This is sound Republican doctrine, and nowhere has it been more clearly and tersely expressed than by General Harrison in this speech.

A PROTECTIVE TARIFF.

On the great and paramount issue of protection General Harrison's record is as consistent and creditable as it is luminous.

"I believe," said he last year, "the principle of the protection of American industry is well established and well defended by the principles of political economy and by the duties of patriotism." And he looks on the workings of protection from the standpoint of the laborer. "Many things," said he in a very able speech on the tariff, at Indianapolis, last year, "are

made and sold now too cheap, for I hold it to be true that whenever the market-price is so low that the man or the woman who makes it cannot get a fair living out of the making of it, it is too low. And I think our workingmen will wake up to the fact that reduction in their wages, which every candid advocate of free trade or revenue reform admits must come with the adoption of his theories—a reduction variously estimated at from 10 to 25 per cent—is poorly compensated by the cheaper coat he is promised. This bull-in-the-china-shop sort of work that our Democratic friends want to make of the tariff will not do."

His ideas of the right methods of reducing the surplus are such as must find favor with all intelligent and patriotic men, whatever their party. "I would like," said he, "to have our coast defenses made secure; I would like to have our navy made respectable, so that an American naval officer, as he trod the deck of the ship bearing the starry banner at its head in any port throughout the world, and looked about upon her equipment and armament, might feel that she was a match for the proudest ship that walked the sea under any other flag. I would like to feel that no third-rate power, aye, no first-rate power, could sail into our defenseless harbors and lay our great cities under tribute. I would like to feel that the just claims of the survivors of the Union army of the war were made secure and safe. Therefore I have a strong preference that this work of the reduction of our revenue, internal and external, shall be conducted by Republicans."

In his speech of March 20th, already referred to, after discussing the Southern question he went on to say:

"There is another question to which the Republican party has committed itself, and on the line of which it has accomplished, as I believe, much for the prosperity of the country. I believe the Republican party is pledged and ought to be pledged to the doctrine of the protection of American industries and American labor. [Applause.] I believe that in so far as our native inventive genius—which seems to have no limit—and our productive forces, can supply the American market, we ought to keep it for ourselves. And yet this new captain on

the bridge seems to congratulate himself on the fact that the voyage is still prosperous notwithstanding the change of commanders; who seems to forget that the reason that the voyage is still prosperous is because the course of the ship was marked out before he went on the bridge and the rudder tied down. [Laughter and applause.] He has attempted to take a new direction since he has been in command [laughter], with a view of changing the sailing course of the old craft; but it has seemed to me that he has made the mistake of mistaking the flash-light of some British light-house for the light of day. [Laughter.] I do not intend here to-night, in this presence, to discuss this tariff question in any detail. I only want to say that in the passage of what is now so flippantly called the war tariff, to raise revenue to carry on the war out of the protective duties which were then levied, there has come to this country a prosperity and development which would have been impossible without it, and that a reversal of this policy now, at the suggestion of Mr. Cleveland according to the line of the blind statesman from Texas [Mills], would be to stay and interrupt this march of prosperity on which we have entered. [Applause.] I am one of those uninstructed political economists that have an impression that some things may be too cheap; that I cannot find myself in full sympathy with this demand for cheaper coats, which seems to me necessarily to involve a cheaper man and woman under the coat. [Applause.] I believe it is true to-day that we have many things in this country that are too cheap, because whenever it is proved that the man or woman who produces any article cannot get a decent living out of it, then it is too cheap."

There was little discussion of the tariff in the Senate during his term, but in the only debate which occurred he showed himself a champion of protection, and vindicated the interests of his constituents at home. The bill, as presented, left off the duties on plate glass.

An amendment was offered, by Senator Harrison, proposing to retain the duties on fluted, rolled or rough plate glass, and he said, in support of the amendments:

"Here is an industry, then, that, under the tariff under which

we are now operating, has not realized, since it began to pay, any profit over five per cent to those who are pursuing it. The statistics are given also as to the amount paid for labor here and abroad. I will not detain the Senate to read the details, but it is true to-day that the different classes of operatives in these glass works are paid twice the wages that the same class of laborers in England receive in England, and three times as much as they receive in Belgium and France. The question is put sharply and clearly in the shape of this industry. It is not asking any increase of the tariff, it is asking simply that the present duties may remain as they are. Is it too much that they ask, when, under the protection of these duties, there has not been in any year since 1879, when first profits were realized, over five per cent realized on the capital invested by any one? Does any Senator believe that if these duties are lowered, the industry can be continued at all with as narrow a margin of profit as five per cent? Does any Senator believe that any reduction of these taxes would not absolutely and speedily close every manufactory of plate glass in the United States? I move this amendment and make this bill in behalf of an industry that is scarcely upon its feet—an industry that will inevitably be brought down to a narrow margin of profit to those who now conduct the business and who are most careful and best skilled in the manufacture of plate glass; and if that margin is removed by any reduction of duty, it is the end of the business." The amendment was adopted.

THE BLAIR EDUCATION BILL.

Another point on which Mr. Harrison is in full accord with the Republican platform is in the policy of reducing, so far as is possible by government aid, the illiteracy that unhappily prevails in the Southern States. "I am," said he, "in thorough sympathy with the proposition that the General Government shall out of the general revenue extend its hand to aid the States that are not able to inaugurate and perfect a school system that will give an opportunity to all the children, white and black, to acquire the elements of an education." But he wisely

added: "The only permanent reliance for the education of the masses must be upon local taxation in the States." Any one who examines those volumes of the *Congressional Record* that contain the debate on the Blair bill will find that no one contributed more to the improvement of the bill as originally presented, or to the shaping of it into such a form that it might be passed, than Senator Harrison. Some of the amendments that he introduced will show the character of his contribution to the debate. One amendment was to this effect:

"That no greater part of the money appropriated under this act shall be paid out to any State or Territory in any one year than the sum expended out of its own revenues or out of the money raised under its authority in the preceding year for the maintenance of common schools, not including the sums expended in the erection of school buildings."

Another amendment to Section 3 provided:

"That no State or Territory shall receive any of the benefits of this act until the governor thereof shall file with the Secretary of the Interior a statement certified by him showing the character of the school system in force in such State or Territory; the amount of money expended therein during the last preceding school year in the support of common schools, not including expenditures for the rent, repair, or erection of schoolhouses; whether any discrimination is made in the raising or distributing of the school revenues or in the school facilities afforded between the white and colored children therein; and, so far as practicable, the sources from which such revenues were derived; the manner in which the sum is apportioned to the use of the schools; the number of white and the number of colored schools; the average attendance in each class, and the length of the school term. No money shall be paid out under this act to any State or Territory that has not provided by law a system of free common schools for all of its children of school age without distinction of color, either in the raising or distributing of school revenues or in the school facilities afforded, provided that separate schools for white and colored children shall not be considered a violation of this condition. The Secretary of the Interior shall thereupon certify to the Secretary of the

Treasury the names of the States and Territory which he finds to be entitled to share in the benefits of this act, and also the amount due to each."

Still another amendment was to this effect:

"That the amount so apportioned to each State and Territory shall be drawn from the Treasury by warrant of the Secretary of the Treasury, upon the monthly estimates and requisitions of the Secretary of the Interior, as the same may be needed, and shall be paid over to such officer as shall be authorized by the laws of the respective States and Territories to receive the same."

These amendments, which, by the way, like most of the legislation proposed by Senator Harrison, were adopted, show the character of his contribution to the Senatorial debate about as well as anything that could be quoted. He was a working legislator. His effort was to have bills introduced in the best shape possible, and after they were introduced, if they were not in such shape, to make such amendments as would bring them into appropriate form. His speeches were always clear, cogent, and to the point; he never talked for the sake of talking, but always for the purpose of clearing up some point that needed elucidation or of improving some measure that needed improvement. He deprecated, as other Senators did, the practice of the House of Representatives in keeping general legislation waiting for months and then sending important bills to the Senate to be passed just before adjournment. His remarks on this subject on one occasion show the practical turn of his mind.

"Now, if we are to so modify our rules that general legislation coming from the House of Representatives may be considered and amended, and that new general legislation germane to the bill as matters affecting the army to the military bill, and the navy to the naval bill, may be enacted, we ought so to arrange our rules that those propositions should be submitted to the judgment of appropriate committees to which matters would go if they were introduced independently here in the Senate, so that the Appropriation Committee should have the judgment of the appropriate committees upon these matters of general legislation."

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

On the question of civil-service reform General Harrison's record is as clear as on any other doctrine of the Republican party. In the speech with which he opened the Indiana campaign of 1882 he said: "I want to assure you to-night that I am an advocate of civil-service reform. My brief experience at Washington has led me often to utter the wish, with an emphasis I do not often use, that I might be forever relieved from the distribution of public patronage. I covet for myself the free and unpurchased support of my fellow-citizens, and long to be able to give my time and energy solely to those public affairs that legitimately relate to the honorable trusts which you have committed to me."

At the same time General Harrison did not believe that public servants, by reason of their connection with the government service, should be deprived of their rights as citizens, and he stoutly resisted the attempt of the Democrats, when the Republican party was in power, to make the civil-service law odious by adding the provision that no employé of the government should be allowed to contribute any money for campaign purposes, even voluntarily.

Of the proposed law restraining contributions he said:

"This is legislation addressed to an evil intended to remove it. I think always, whether in construing or enacting such legislation, we are helped if we can clearly understand the evil against which it is directed; and I think if we can bring the Senate now in this discussion to a recognition of that evil and to a definition of it, we shall understand ourselves better as to this amendment. That evil, if I understand it, is not the collection of money for political uses. I do not understand that any Senator here controverts the fact that there are legitimate and proper uses to which money may be put in political campaigns. The evil, then, against which we direct our legislation is not the collection of money for political uses, neither is it the corrupt or unlawful use of money in elections. What is it then? It is simply this, sir, as I understand it. It is to remove from all those in the official service of the United

States any other influence or control in their giving than that which may operate upon a private individual. That is what I understand to be the aim: that every clerk in a Department and every officer of the government shall be entirely emancipated from every influence except those influences which may operate upon the unofficial citizen in determining the question whether he will give or not give. The intention is by this bill to remove not only coercive influences, but the semblance of them; not only to withhold legal power to exact, but to withhold the use of official places which may be treated as an exaction.

"Therefore we say there shall be no request for contributions coming from any official source. The request, when made, shall not be backed by any official position, influence, or power. When we have accomplished that, and have emancipated those from whom contributions arise, I understand that we have met the evil complained of, and have gone as far as we rightfully can go."

RECORD ON PENSIONS.

It was to be expected that a man who had been through some of the most stirring campaigns of the war, who had taken his life in his hand, and left his wife and his children in the hour of his country's need, to go into the field and fight in her defense, should have a warm feeling toward his fellow-soldiers, and should sympathize heartily with all movements towards giving them the support in their old age and infirmity that governments have always given to their faithful defenders. Pension bills have always been loyally supported in his congressional career by General Harrison. A glance at the Index, even, of the *Congressional Record* will show that few, if any, Senators have excelled him in the number of pension bills for the relief of deserving old soldiers that they have brought forward. It was he, as the representative of the State of Indiana, who presented in the Senate the memorial of the Indiana posts of the Grand Army of the Republic praying for the passage of the Dependent Pension Bill. He has introduced also many other petitions of like nature coming from his fellow-veterans.

The soldiers know, all over the Union, that they have no warmer friend than their old comrade, Ben Harrison.

Feeling as he does on this subject, it was no wonder that in 1887 he alluded to the Cleveland little pension-bill vetoes as "tipped with poisoned arrows," and defended the principle of pension bills in this way: "Why, it is something like the old rule we had in the army: as long as a man was able he marched and carried his own gun and knapsack, but when he got hurt or sick and fell out we had an ambulance to put him in. And that is the principle embodied in this bill—that we, the survivors of the late war, as long as God gives us strength and health, will march in this column of civil life, making our own living and carrying our own burden; but here is a comrade falling by the way through sickness or casualty,—not his own fault,—and he has to fall out; we want the great national ambulance to take him up."

ADMISSION OF TERRITORIES.

General Harrison is not one of those Republicans, if there be any such, whose eyes are set in the back of their heads. He has a forward outlook. He is not only proud of the past achievements of his party, and glad to celebrate its glorious record; he also looks forward to the new triumphs which it shall win in the future. He has been, through his entire senatorial career, the foremost advocate of the admission of those Territories that are fairly entitled by their population and the development of their resources to be admitted into the sisterhood of States. As Chairman of the Committee on Territories he brought in a bill for the admission of Dakota, and his speech upon that was one of the few set speeches that he made during his six years of senatorial service. His admirable lucidity of statement is seen in the way in which he introduced the bill from the committee to the Senate:

"The bill proposes to divide the existing Territory of Dakota upon the 46th parallel of north latitude, being very nearly the north division of the Territory. It proposes to organize into a State that portion of the Territory lying south of the 46th parallel, to continue for that portion of the Terri-

tory north of that parallel the present Territorial government, and to transfer to it the officers of the present Territory of Dakota. It gives to that part of Dakota which retains a territorial organization the name of Lincoln. As to the State, it provides for a constitutional convention, and that the constitution framed by it shall be submitted to a popular vote. If the constitution is adopted, and is conformable to the requirements of the bill, which are those generally found in these enabling acts, the President is then required to make proclamation of that fact, and the State is to be thereupon admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the other States.

"The movement for the admission of a new member into the sisterhood of States should originate with the people to be affected by it. Such a movement should not have its initiation or its impetus outside of people of the State to be constituted. I do not need to say that this discussion, if it is kept upon the plane to which it belongs, cannot degenerate into a partisan discussion; that we cannot divide upon it on party lines; because to consider the application of this people for admission to the Union with reference to a political party, is to consider it from a level altogether below that of statesmanship."

His entire speech is too long to be quoted in full here. Suffice it to say that he made a most thorough and convincing exhibit of the resources and characteristics of the Territory, and proved conclusively that it was fully entitled to admission. He compared its population with that of some of the present States, and showed that while no hard-and-fast rule has ever been laid down regarding the number of people that a Territory must contain before it can be admitted as a State, still its possession of as many people as are apportioned generally throughout the States to a single representative in Congress has generally been considered sufficient. He showed that Dakota has twice as many people at least as are necessary to entitle it to a representative in Congress. But he went further still. He compared the vote cast in Dakota with that cast in some older States in the Union, and he showed that if apportionment of representatives in Congress should be made on this basis, Dakota would have not two but eight Congressmen.

He reviewed its wonderful recent history; he brought out clearly its marvelous resources and the almost miraculous development which they have undergone within a decade; he showed that the people of the Territory desire almost unanimously that the Territory should be divided, and that the southern half should be immediately admitted. His argument was conclusive. The Senate passed his bill, and it was only owing to the opposition of the Democratic House, which feared the result on the Presidential election of having a new State entitled to four or five electors, that the bill did not go through both Houses and become a law.

INTERSTATE COMMERCE.

When the Interstate Commerce Bill was under discussion in 1885, Senator Harrison remarked upon it in these terms: "I am glad we have come to a time in this discussion when no one in the Senate denies that the power of Congress over this question of interstate commerce by railway is as ample as over that by sea. It may be, as the Senator from Kentucky said, that some attorney of a railroad company in the committee-room may yet maintain the doctrine that Congress has no power over this subject, but in the discussion here no one has expressed the smallest doubt of the right of Congress to control and regulate by wise provisions of law these great channels of interstate commerce.

"Mr. President, intelligent legislation of a curative or remedial character will always be directed to the evils to be cured, and the intelligent legislator will always desire to have a clear understanding of the evils which are to be remedied before he drafts his bill. I think we have a clear and definite understanding of the evils to be remedied by this legislation. They are extortion, the exaction of unreasonable rates from shippers; they are discriminations between localities, or between shippers at the same localities. I believe there is not a Senator here who will not agree that if we can so legislate as to make every railroad tariff reasonable, and to make those reasonable rates apply without discrimination to every locality and to

every shipper, we shall have effected a radical, thoroudgh, an lasting cure of this railroad trouble."

This extract shows, as extracts from Senator Harrison's speeches always show, his clear penetration of the merits of the case, and his directness in going straight at the best methods possible for a remedying of the evil. Throughout his whole senatorial career General Harrison's service was of this character. His speeches were made for the sake of their effect upon the immediate passage of the bill under consideration in the Senate at the time, and not for the perusal of his constituents when they should have been franked to Indiana. The extracts that have been here presented show conclusively that Senator Harrison's part in the legislation of the body of which he was a member was no small nor inconsiderable one. He was regarded by his colleagues of both political parties as the equal of the stronger men in the Senate. As has been pointed out, he needed very little experience to qualify him to take at once a prominent part in the committee work and in debates. His strong good sense, his excellent legal training, his clear perception of the innate qualities of things, all enabled him to take a leading place.

THE IRISH CAUSE.

It was natural that with his strong devotion to American ideas, and his inborn sympathy for the oppressed everywhere and for popular institutions, Senator Harrison should be interested in the struggle the Irish patriots are making for home rule. He has made a number of speeches on this topic that show his position clearly. At a meeting held in New York city, April 8, 1887, he said, in part:

"It is not possible, in this age of the world, to govern a people as numerous and inhabiting a country of such extent as Ireland by coercion. That period in the world's history when men might be governed by force without their consent—their inclinations coerced, their aspirations for participation in government suppressed—is passed away forever. More and more the American idea that government rests upon the consent of the governed is making its way in the world. If it be true that

the British Government finds difficulty in Ireland in empaneling juries that will convict for any offenses there against the landlord, it is because it is deeply settled in the convictions of those people that those laws are egregiously wrong in principle and hurtful in their application. That people cannot be dealt with, having that settled conviction, by any attempt to coerce those sentiments, by finding another jurisdiction and venue in which to try those offenses, and the government becomes a failure when that becomes a necessity. I unite with you as an American citizen in the expression of an opinion, in kindly advice to those who oppose the adoption of such measures as will win the Irish heart, and give to the helpless and poverty-stricken in the land of their fathers an advancement that will in the years to come give a glory that shall gild the brightest years in her existence."

At the reception given by the citizens of Indianapolis in December, 1887, to Messrs. Esmonde and O'Connor, the visiting Irish members of Parliament, he made a brief speech which was the event of the evening. Here it is in full:

"The hour is already so late that I will detain the audience but a moment. I am glad to have the opportunity to hear the distinguished guests of the evening; men who in the British Parliament stand for home rule in Ireland. They have given me much fuller information than I had before of the oppressive character of the coercion acts. I was glad also to know that the Irish people have shown such a steady and self-contained adherence to their rights, and such steadfastness in the assertion of them by lawful methods. We know that Irishmen have many a time, in the struggles of their native land, and in our fight in America for free government, thrown themselves upon the bayonet of the enemies of liberty with reckless courage. It is gratifying to know that they can also make a quiet but unyielding resistance to oppression by parliamentary methods. I would rather be William O'Brien in Tullamore jail, a martyr to free speech, than the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in Dublin Castle."

General Harrison does not regard the expression of such sentiments, at a meeting in America, as an impertinence, or an

interference in affairs that are not our own. The cause of freedom and self-government is our own the world over, and he believes in saying so, and in showing England just what this country thinks of the policy of rack-rent and coercion.

In the fall of 1886 the legislature was chosen in Indiana which was to elect a successor to Senator Harrison. With a view to supplanting him with a Democrat, the previous legislature, which was Democratic, had gerrymandered the State so as to make the next succeeding legislature reasonably sure for the Democrats by 46 majority on joint ballot. But, notwithstanding the gerrymander, General Harrison threw himself into the campaign with such vigor that from the reports that came in on election night it was apparent that the official returns would be necessary to decide whether the majority of the legislature was to be Republican or Democratic. Those official returns, when finally in, gave the State legislature to the Democrats by a majority of two. At the same time, the Republicans had elected a lieutenant-governor; but the Democrats maintained, and the Democratic court upheld them in maintaining, that no lieutenant-governor was eligible in that year, and so Harrison lost one vote in the State Senate. There were clear cases of fraud in the return of at least two of the Democratic members of the House, but the Democratic majority refused to recognize this; and the final result was, as every one knows, the choice of David Turpie as General Harrison's successor in the United States Senate.

INDIANA'S "FAVORITE SON."

Ever since that campaign General Harrison has been the "Favorite Son" of Indiana. The sentiment throughout the State has been almost unanimous for his elevation to a higher post than any he had yet occupied. When the delegations were chosen to the Chicago Convention this year, a wave of Harrison enthusiasm burst over the State, and although so worthy and able and prominent a candidate as General Gresham was brought forward by his friends as a rival for the honor of being named by Indiana as her candidate before the Convention, the State elected a delegation that was unanimous

for Harrison. Their hopefulness and their unbounded faith in the capacity of the candidate of their choice, their zeal among other delegations, told mightily in favor of Harrison. They stuck by him from first to last; they used no arguments against other candidates, such as would be likely to leave unpleasant feelings after the nomination had been made. They reopened no old sores; they rejuvenated no ancient quarrels; their arguments were affirmative and positive; they presented the clean, honorable record of their candidate as his best title to the nomination, and their persistency and cheerfulness and policy of conciliation finally met their due reward in the unanimous choice of the Convention.

During the session of the Convention General Harrison received bulletins from it at his home, surrounded by a few friends. During the week of struggle over the nomination he kept entirely cool and clear-headed; he was neither cast down when it seemed that the nomination would go to some other candidate, nor visibly elated when it became evident that his own nomination was assured.

While the Convention was in session he remarked: "I have not allowed it to disturb me in the least; I have seen too much of the uncertainties of political life in the first place, and in the next place I have seen not a little of the cares, anxieties, and worries that surround the Presidency. As I have often told my friends, there was never but one political office that I wanted, and I wanted that because I needed it; that was when I was a poor young lawyer, just before the war, with a family; I really wanted then the position of Reporter of the Supreme Court; since then I can truthfully say that I have never sought for myself public place."

AFTER THE NOMINATION.

General Harrison's friends and neighbors felt a great deal more elated over his nomination than he did himself. For three days there was very little else done in Indianapolis except to celebrate the nomination. On the evening of June 25th a mass meeting was held, at the adjournment of which a crowd of about eight thousand men marched to General Harri-

son's residence and called for a speech. In acknowledging their invitation he said:

"Neighbors and friends: I am profoundly sensible of the kindness which you evidence to-night in gathering in such large numbers to extend to me your congratulations over the result at Chicago. It would be altogether inappropriate that I should say anything of a partisan character. Many of my neighbors who differ with me politically have kindly extended to me as citizens of Indianapolis their congratulations over this event. [Cries of "Good."] Such congratulations, as well as those of my neighbors who sympathize with me in my political beliefs, are exceedingly gratifying. I have been a long time a resident of Indianapolis—over thirty years. Many who are here before me have been with me during all these years, citizens of this great and growing capital of this magnificent State. We have seen the development and growth of this city. We are proud of its position to-day, and we look forward in the future to a development which shall far outstrip that which the years behind us have told.

"I thank you sincerely for this evidence that those who have known me well and long give me still their confidence and respect. [Applause and cheers.] Kings sometimes bestow decorations upon those whom they desire to honor, but the man is most highly decorated who has the affectionate regard of his neighbors and friends. [Great applause.] I will only again thank you most cordially for this demonstration of your regard. I shall be glad from time to time as opportunity offers to meet you all personally, and regret that to-night this crowd is so great that it will be impossible for me to take each one of you by the hand. But we will be here together, and my house will always open its doors gladly to any of you when you may desire to see me." [Great cheering.]

The excitement continued till late at night; there were street parades, headed by bands of music; and the thoroughfares were crowded with vast gatherings of people, all rejoicing over the nomination of their neighbor and friend for the highest office in the gift of the people; many buildings were illuminated, and banners and transparencies were plenty. A meeting

of prominent citizens was held, and committees were appointed to arrange for the reception of visitors, and also for a ratification meeting the next evening. The next day, the crowd continued with its congratulations. The California delegation, which first of all those who were not for Harrison at the beginning of the balloting flung its vote into his column, arrived in town in the evening. Although the hour was late, General Harrison exchanged greetings with the visitors. When the delegation left, as the great crowd gathered showed no sign of dispersing, General Harrison came forward and said:

"Fellow-citizens, ladies and gentlemen: I am very deeply impressed and gratified with this magnificent demonstration of your respect. No man can be so deeply honored by any convention, or by any decoration which any of the authorities of government can bestow, as by the respect and confidence of those who live near him. My heart is touched by this demonstration which my fellow-citizens have given me of their personal respect for me. I do not, however, accept this manifestation of interest as wholly due to myself. The great bulk of those who are assembled here to-night manifest their interest in those political principles which I have been called by the representatives in national convention of the Republican party to represent in this campaign. But I will not discuss any of these high issues to-night, because I am glad to know that among those who are gathered here and among those who have paid me the compliments of their presence in my home there are many citizens of Indianapolis who differ with me politically. I would not, therefore, if it were otherwise proper, mar this occassion by the discussion of any political topic. I am glad to have an opportunity to return my sincere and heart-felt thanks to the Indiana delegation and to that band of devoted friends who gathered about them and assisted them in their work at Chicago. When I saw in the newspaper press of the East and of the West the encomiums that were passed by the correspondents upon the deportment and character of the representatives of Indiana at Chicago, I was greatly pleased. When I heard of their affectionate devotion, of their discreet and wise presentation of the claims of Indiana, I was still further grati-

fied; and if the result of that convention had been, as it well might have been if individuals had only been considered in the contest that was there waged, the selection for this high place of some other than myself, I should have felt that the devoted interest, the wise and faithful presentation by the Indiana delegation of the Indiana situation, was such that the failure to yield to their argument would still have left me crowned with the brightest crown that can be placed upon mortal brow—the affection and confidence and discreet support of my friends from Indiana. [Cries of "Good!"]

"I am glad that the dispatches said of them, and truly said, that they conducted their canvass with that gentle and respectful regard to the interests and character of the others who were named for this high place, and that they came home without those regrets which must have followed if this victory had been won at the expense of any of those noble names that were presented for the suffrage of the convention.

"I do not feel at all that in selecting the candidate who was chosen regard was had simply to the individual equipment and qualifications for the duties of this high office. I feel sure that if the convention had felt free to regard these things only, some other of those distinguished men, old-time leaders of the Republican party—Blaine, or Sherman, or Allison, or some of the others named—would have been chosen in preference to myself. I feel that it was the situation in Indiana and its relation to the campaign that was impending, rather than the personal equipment or qualifications of the candidate that was chosen, that turned the choice of the convention in our direction. We are here to thank those members of the convention who have done us the honor to pay our capital a visit to-night, not only for this visit, but for the support and interest which they took in the Indiana candidacy in the convention at Chicago. I thank you again for gathering here to-night. I am sure that in this demonstration you give evidence that the interest in this campaign will not flag until the election has determined the result of the contest. And I feel sure, too, my fellow-citizens, that we joined a contest of great principles, and that the armies which are to fight out this great contest before

the American people will encamp upon the high plains of principle and not in the low swamps of personal defamation or detraction. Again I thank you for this compliment of your presence here to-night, and bid you good-night." [Great Cheering.]

For several days the candidate was in receipt of congratulatory telegrams from prominent Republicans every where. Among the first was the following:

"LINLITHGOW, SCOTLAND, June 25.

"*Gen. Harrison, Indianapolis:*

"I congratulate you most heartily upon the work of the National Convention. Your candidacy will recall the triumphant enthusiasm and assure the victorious conclusion which followed your grandfather's nomination in 1840. Your election will seal our industrial independence as the declaration of '76, which bears the honored name of your great-grandfather, sealed our political independence. JAMES G. BLAINE."

General W. T. Sherman sent this message: "It is proper that I should assure you of my great confidence. You were true and faithful when we needed men of action. I believe you will be, and you may command me."

HOME LIFE.

These demonstrations at his home show the respect and affection with which his neighbors regard General Harrison. He has lived among them since he was 21 years old. They know him well. There is scarcely a man in Indianapolis to whom his figure is not familiar, and who is not on pleasant speaking terms with him. He lives in a plain and unpretentious but comfortable three-story brick house on Delaware Street, to which he usually returns from his office in the democrattic street-car. A correspondent writes: "The Harrison house is a brick structure of substantial design, with ample room and pleasant porch overshadowing the door: a carriage-way at the side gives access to the modest building in the rear, where is stabled the one horse of the family, a big sorrel, which Mrs.

Harrison drives more than any one else. A spacious lawn spreads its green expanse at the front and side of the house, and at the rear the broad leaves of a trellised grape-vine hide from the street the strawberry beds."

The mistress of this mansion is a model housekeeper. Her father was a professor in the Indiana University when young Harrison attended that institution. She was of the same age as the young student, and largely shared his intellectual as well as his social interests. They have been married now thirty-five years. Their union has been blessed with two children, one of whom, a son, is a resident of Montana Territory, and is already becoming prominent in the politics of the new Northwest. The other, a daughter, Mrs. McKee, lives in Indianapolis, and her little boy, Benjamin McKee, less than two years old, is said to be the real monarch of the Harrison household. The General is remarkably fond not only of this particular baby, but of all children; every boy and girl in the neighborhood knows and loves him, and he knows and loves every one of them. He has that indefinable something in his personality and manner which naturally attracts the confidence of the young, and which is a pleasant testimony to his real, genuine worth. Mrs. Harrison, although of intellectual tastes, is fond of society and goes out a great deal in Indianapolis, where she is as great a favorite among the ladies as her husband is among the men. She is active in charitable work, one of the managers of the Indianapolis Orphans' Home, and, like her husband, takes an active part in church work. Both are members of the First Presbyterian Church. General Harrison is an Elder in the Church and for many years taught a Bible class in the Sunday-school, while his wife took charge of the infant department.

Thus for many years General Harrison has lived, a plain, unassuming citizen of Indianapolis, a hard-working lawyer, a regular and faithful attendant at church services, always ready to do his part in any civic or political or ecclesiastical organization of which he was a member. He is a typical American citizen of the best sort. In all his relations as son, husband, father, grandfather, he has not only performed with fidelity his

family duties, but has inspired the warmest affection and respect in those by whom he has been surrounded. In his other relations, as citizen, as colonel of a regiment and fellow-soldier, as candidate for governor, as representative of the State of Indiana in the United States Senate, he has discharged every duty with unswerving devotion to the interests of those by whom it had been committed to him. It was through him that the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Indiana presented its petition for the abolition of the liquor traffic in the District of Columbia, and through him that other similar organizations presented memorials to a like purpose. It was he who was naturally sought by his old comrades in arms as the proper person to present to the United States Senate the petitions of the various Indiana posts of the G. A. R. for the passage of the Dependent Pension Bill. His record in the Senate is honorably marked by devotion to the welfare of his constituents, whose interests he never forgot, although in attending to them he never forgot either his paramount duty to the Government of the United States.

The most prominent features of General Harrison's career may be summed up in the one word American. He is heart and soul an American citizen. He was born and reared in the heart of America, in a characteristically American environment. He began life on his own account in a thoroughly American way, by setting out to make a living for himself and his wife with a capital composed of brains and industry. When his country was threatened with dismemberment, he offered his life in her service. He has all his life striven, in whatever sphere he was placed, for the best interests of his neighborhood, his State, and his country. He believes in the American flag as the symbol of liberty; in American markets for American labor; in the right of all American freemen to vote and to have their votes counted; and in American policies generally for managing American affairs.

This short sketch of the career and services of the Republican candidate may serve to show what sort of man he is. There is nothing in his life to conceal. It has all been fair and open as the day. He has simply gone forward, taking up the

duty that lay next him and performing it to the best of his ability; and as yet no responsibility has been laid upon him to whose burdens he was not fully equal. He has never undertaken anything that he could not perform; and Americans need have no fear that he would not discharge the duties of the Presidency with as much fidelity and with as distinguished success as have marked his performance of the trusts imposed upon him by the positions he has already held. He is an able, upright, clear-headed, energetic Christian statesman, and when elected will give to his country an administration of which no citizen of America need be ashamed, but of which every one, without distinction of party, may well be proud.

LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES

OF

LEVI PARSONS MORTON,

Republican Candidate for Vice-President

OF

THE UNITED STATES.

WHEN the Republican Convention at Chicago had in its wisdom selected General Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, to be the candidate of the party for President of the United States, it was a foregone conclusion that a citizen of one of the Eastern States would be selected as the candidate for Vice-President, as it was most desirable that some one with a strong following of devoted friends in New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut should be secured and the ticket thereby strengthened by the zeal which such adherents would bring to it. It was almost as much a foregone conclusion that the selection would fall upon Levi Parsons Morton, of New York, and he was easily nominated on the first ballot. This selection, though obviously wise for geographical and political reasons, has other merits not less great. Mr. Morton represents in the very highest sense the conservative business men of the country, a class which has done more for the marvellous material progress of America than even her soldiers and her statesmen. In hours, too, of the Nation's peril the business men have never failed to hold up the hands of her soldiers and thus to make their victories possible; and in times of political panic, when madcap theorists and unthinking sentimentalists have urged revolutionary legislation, it has always been the cool-headed business men who have cried a halt and have prevented the consequences of unwise precipitancy. At this time, when a deadly blow is aimed at the prosperity of our industries, it is particularly fortunate that the Republicans should have selected to hold the second place in the next administration, one who knows all

Levi P. Morton

about business affairs, from the best method of conducting a country store to the successful refunding of a nation's debt. Mr. Morton has passed through every grade of business life; and as he has succeeded in all of them, it is safe to say that in matters affecting our industrial and financial affairs his counsel must be of value. Unfortunately it is too frequently the case that candidates for public office are selected because of their personal popularity or availability by reason of negative qualities which have not created animosities by the accomplishment of great affairs. The higher reason that the candidate was the best man to do the work which the office required is too often overlooked. A brief glance at Mr. Morton's business and political career will show that he has the experience, the capacity, and, above all, the integrity to reflect honor upon any position in our government.

EARLY LIFE.

Mr. Morton comes from sturdy New England stock. He was born at Shoreham, Vermont, May 16, 1824. He is descended from George Morton, who came to this country from England in the ship Ann in 1623, and thus we have represented on our ticket in Harrison and Morton, descendants of the Puritan and the Cavalier; but in themselves we have men greater than either Puritan or Cavalier: we have two genuine Americans. Mr. Morton's father was a Congregational minister, the Rev. Daniel O. Morton, who reared and educated his family on a salary of $600 a year. Mr. Morton's mother was a sister of the Rev. Levi Parsons, the first American missionary who ever reached Jerusalem. The father of Levi Parsons, from whom Mr. Morton takes his name, was a famous man of his day in Massachusetts and Vermont, and anecdotes of him are still current in Hatfield and Goshen and Pittsfield and Stockbridge. His stalwart form, white hair, ruddy face, beaming and benevolent eye, and apostolic simplicity gave him the title of Father Parsons, and made him everywhere a welcome guest.

The income of the Rev. Daniel Morton did not enable him to give his son more than a common-school education; so at the age of sixteen young Levi set out for himself and entered

as a clerk in a country store in Concord, New Hampshire. "This," says one of Mr. Morton's biographers, "would have been but a meagre foundation on which to build a great career, had not the lad's constitution, physical and mental, been established by the best of home influences."

BUSINESS CAREER.

This store was owned by a Mr. Esterbrook, who so highly appreciated young Morton's abilities that he sent him to Hanover to open a country store and co-operate with the one in Concord. When he arrived in Hanover he had two trunks on the top of the stage, and in these were all of his worldly belongings, including his stock in trade. He did a small retail trade on his own account, and bought country produce for the store in Concord. The farmers sold him eggs, butter, and potatoes, and took in exchange cloth, molasses, tea, and coffee. The business was a sort of barter, and few cash sales were made. Finally, however, Mr. Esterbrook failed, and young Morton had to suspend. One of the largest creditors was Mr. Beebe of Boston. He concluded, after looking over Esterbrook's books and visiting Morton in Hanover, to set the latter on his feet. In a few years Morton bought out Mr. Beebe's interest, and for a country merchant soon became quite prosperous. In 1849, at Mr. Beebe's invitation, he went to Boston and became a member of the dry-goods firm of Beebe, Morton & Co. He entered this firm at the same time as Mr. Junius S. Morgan, the successor in London of George Peabody and the head of the great banking firm of J. S. Morgan & Co., with whom the Drexels of New York and Philadelphia are in partnership. Mr. Morton severed his connection with this Boston house in 1854 and removed to New York, where he established the dry-goods house of Morton & Grinnell. This was an eminently successful firm until the breaking out of the war, when the disturbance to trade and the inability to get settlements from Southern customers caused the firm to suspend. It compounded with its creditors for fifty cents on the dollar.

As soon as his affairs were put in order he began his career as a banker, and in 1863 started a banking house which

has become one of the most solid financial institutions of the country. Mr. Morton in this new venture was successful from the first, and made money so rapidly that he soon attained prominence in financial circles. One day the late creditors of the firm of Morton & Grinnell received an invitation to dine with Mr. Morton. When they sat down to dinner each guest found beneath his plate a check signed by Mr. Morton for an amount of money that paid the claim of each of them in full with interest. No legal obligation rested upon Mr. Morton to pay this money, as by the terms of the composition the firm of Morton & Grinnell were relieved of all obligations by the payment of fifty cents on the dollar. But Mr. Morton in this matter, as in all others, took higher ground than even the law asks a man to take. His honorable conduct at this time made for him many friends. In 1868 Mr. George Bliss entered the firm, and the name was changed to that which it now bears, Morton, Bliss & Co. The same year the firm of Morton, Rose & Co. was founded in London. Sir John Rose, the junior partner of this firm, had been Finance Minister of Canada for some time. This firm shares with J. S. Morgan & Co. (Mr. Morton's old partner in Boston) the bulk of the financial business between England and America.

When during John Sherman's administration of the United States Treasury it was decided to resume specie payments, Morton, Bliss & Co., Morton, Rose & Co., and several other bankers formed a syndicate to take the four-per-cent bonds of the United States, so that the resumption of specie payments might be possible. The action of the syndicate in this matter was so prompt and efficient that specie payments were resumed without the slightest disturbance to trade, and Mr. Sherman, by adopting this method suggested by Mr. Morton and his colleagues, saved for the government $70,000,000. In every large financial operation Mr. Morton's firm is now consulted or invited to participate. His firm was the agent of the government in the settlement of the Fisheries award to Great Britain, and Mr. Morton now has framed in his office his check for $5,500,000 on Glyn, Mills, Currie & Co., and indorsed over to the Bank of England by the Marquis of Salisbury. Another large transac-

tion of the house was the sale to English capitalists for William H. Vanderbilt of $50,000,000 of the stock of the New York Central Railroad.

MR. MORTON IN CONGRESS.

Mr. Morton during all this active business career had been a firm Republican, but had never been actively in political life until in 1876. Very late in the canvass, and without consulting him, the Republicans of the Eleventh Congressional District of New York nominated him as their candidate for Congress. Nothing except his high sense of duty would have induced him to make the race, for it was entirely too late to make anything like a thorough canvass. He was defeated, but at the same time encouraged, for he had reduced the majority of his opponent by 400 votes. Two years later he again ran for Congress in the same district. At this election his majority was greater than all the votes cast for his opponent.

In Congress Mr. Morton was not a frequent speaker. His work was chiefly before committees, where the quiet methods of the trained business man had full effect. Whenever financial questions were under discussion, or legislation affecting our commerce was brought up, he took a commanding position. He strongly opposed the bill for the unlimited coinage of silver dollars, and his influence had great effect in defeating it. At the extra session in 1879 he made two speeches on the silver question, and the country was convinced that he was a thorough master of the complicated laws of finance. Without any effort at oratorical display, he made felt the weight of an unblemished reputation, of a frank, straightforward character, and of sound views which he expressed in the fewest, tersest words. His course in Congress was marked by independence of judgment and moderation, and he won the confidence and attachment of men of both sides.

FOREIGN MINISTER.

After General Garfield had been nominated at Chicago in 1880 for President, the Ohio delegation urged Mr. Morton to take the nomination for Vice-President. He refused, and

General Arthur was nominated for the office. Before General Garfield was inaugurated he urged Mr. Morton to enter his Cabinet as Secretary of the Navy, but he declined. When, however, President Garfield appointed him Minister to France, he accepted. Garfield fully appreciated the ability Mr. Morton had shown while the Presidential contest lasted. His work in the campaign was not only earnest and thorough, but it was efficient, and it was difficult to accomplish anything in New York politics just at that time without bungling. There were factions fighting each other bitterly within the party, and whoever put his hand to the reins had to do it with a touch at once firm and gentle, else a disaster was the consequence. Mr. Morton's business relations had taken him many times to Europe, where he not only had a large acquaintance but an extensive reputation. He knew Paris thoroughly, and was at home there at once. He could not feel at home, however, in the offices of the American Legation, which at that time were located over a laundry and grocery store. He felt that this was not a suitable place for the official home of the representative of the greatest republic of the world in the capital of the greatest republic in Europe. He could be a clerk in a country store in New Hampshire without a blush, but he could not represent his country in Paris amidst mean surroundings, and feel that he was doing his full duty towards his government. He therefore moved from the dingy quarters in Rue de Chaillot to a commodious mansion in Place de la Biche, the name of which, out of compliment to him, was at once changed to Place des Etats Unis. This mansion soon became the one place in Paris where the leading politicians of France, royalist, republican, and radical, could socially meet. Thus opening such a meeting-place for the leading men of all parties, Mr. Morton was enabled to do the business of his mission much more smoothly. While there he succeeded in persuading the French Cabinet to rescind the prohibitory edict against the importation of American pork. As Minister of the United States, Mr. Morton hammered the first nail in the construction of Bartholdi's Statue of Liberty recently erected in New York Harbor, and delivered a speech on June 15, 1884, accepting the statue in

behalf of the American people. He also represented the United States at Le Pui, the birthplace of Lafayette, when a statue of the patriot was unveiled there. Through Mr. Morton's social tact and his acquaintance with bankers and manufacturers he kept the official relations of the two republics in a most kindly condition, and did much to smooth the commercial asperities which the prohibition of American pork had engendered. With the coming in of the Democratic administration in Washington, Mr. Morton of course returned home.

He had been a very popular Minister in Paris, and all who had met him in official or social life were sorry to have him go. He was extremely obliging, was glad to promote any American cause or interest, and showed great tact generally in his social and official relations. He also had the American capacity for getting quickly informed, taking soundings and acting thereon. He retired from his post in Paris in a graceful, dignified, and pleasant manner. To say that an American Minister has been popular in a European capital, where there are large numbers of Americans residing and visiting, is very high praise, for it indicates that the Minister must have had never-failing patience and amiability and have been most accurate in his judgment of men. The American living abroad is not the easiest person in the world to deal with. He frequently becomes a very conceited animal, opinionated without learning, veneered without polish. He looks too frequently upon his brother who prefers to stay in his own country and perform his duty at home as a pitiable and ignorant drudge, and when the stay-at-home ventures abroad he treats him accordingly. The consequence of all this humbug and pretense is that in every colony of Americans in Europe there are petty feuds of the silliest sort. Each faction always tries to get a new Minister to join with it, and, strange as it may appear, it is seldom indeed that a Minister escapes becoming more or less entangled. These social politics have been the undoing of many great men sent abroad to represent the United States, and fortunate indeed is he, and wise, who successfully resists the importunities of all factions without offending any of them.

CANVASS FOR U. S. SENATOR.

Mr. Morton has twice been a candidate for United States Senator. In January, 1885, the vote in the Republican caucus was, Evarts, 61; Morton, 28; Depew, 3. In 1887 Mr. Morton received 33 votes on the first ballot, Mr. Miller 43, and Mr. Hiscock 11. On the second ballot Mr. Hiscock received the entire Republican vote and was elected. It was to this contest that Mr. Warner Miller referred when in his speech at Chicago in placing Mr. Morton in nomination he said: "The gentleman whom I am instructed to name as the unanimous choice of our delegation for Vice-President is a man with whom I have crossed swords in partisan strife; but I assure you now that if you concede to our wish and give us this man as our candidate for Vice-President our swords shall only be drawn in the common cause."

Mr. Morton was heartily in favor of the oleomargarine laws passed by the New York Legislature in 1884, 1885, and 1886. In a letter written by him in the latter year he said: "I am heartily in accord with any proposed legislation that will protect the dairy interest, and I should deem it my duty to earnestly support the passage of any law calculated to suppress fraud in the imitation of products that go into daily consumption, especially those in the dairy, in which industry so large a number of our people are engaged. I believe that after the experience we have had of the operation of the present law, Congress would consider favorably the proposition to make such changes in it as would more effectually prevent the sale of oleomargarine for natural butter in the future."

MR. MORTON'S BENEVOLENCE.

Mr. Morton is of a most benevolent and charitable disposition, but the public can never know of his many kindly acts in helping the needy and succoring those in distress. All of such acts have been kept secret as far as possible, and he has earnestly endeavored to obey the scriptural injunction: "Let not thy right hand know what thy left hand doeth." Some of

his benefactions, however, have been semi-public in their nature, and only of these would it be proper to speak. In 1880, Congress, moved by the dreadful suffering in Ireland, placed the ship *Constellation* at the disposal of any one willing to send relief to that sadly afflicted land. Some weeks passed, and all efforts to take advantage of this offer of Congress came to naught. Mr. Morton heard of these futile efforts and at once wrote to the New York *Herald* a letter in which he said: "You are authorized to announce that a gentleman known to you, who declines to have his name made public, offers to pay for one quarter of the cargo of the *Constellation* if other parties will make up the balance." At the same time, he had determined to furnish the entire cargo if there were any delay in securing other aid. The proprietor of the *Herald*, however, and Mr. W. R. Grace each contributed one quarter, and the remainder was furnished by several gentlemen. This incident in Mr. Morton's career shows how large, how catholic and all-embracing is his nature. Here was a down-trodden and oppressed people, deprived by a stronger power during many generations from fairly competing in the trade of the world, at last almost entirely overcome by a famine, which coming found them all unprepared. His prompt action to go to their relief was not influenced by any motive save his love for liberty and fair play, his hatred of oppression, and his large-hearted sympathy with suffering wherever it unfortunately exists on the face of the earth. It is well for suffering humanity that so long as wealth shall be unequally divided a large share of it should fall into the hands of a man like this. Certainly he will always be placed high upon the list of the true friends of the Irish—that amiable and high-spirited people whom six hundred years of oppression have not sufficed to conquer.

Not less admirable was his timely action in the summer of 1880, when the Rockaway Beach Improvement Company had fallen into trouble. Many hundreds of workmen were unable to obtain their wages because of the financial ruin in which the gigantic hotel enterprise had become involved. Certificates of indebtedness were issued to the workmen, but they were useless to the men, who needed food for their wives and

children. At this juncture Mr. Morton persuaded the house of Drexel, Morgan & Co. to join him, and each contributed $50,000 for the relief of the workingmen. They paid the full amount of the certificates and declined to accept any discount.

In 1885 he gave Dartmouth College a house and lot near Rollins Chapel, to enable the college to erect an art gallery and museum. When Mr. Morton was appointed Minister to France, Dartmouth conferred on him the honorary degree of LL.D.

PERSONAL APPEARANCE.

In appearance Mr. Morton is a typical American, and represents the brawn and the brains of the sturdy Anglo-Saxon race which, transplanted to this country, has developed into the marvelous Yankee of this day. In his bearing he is modest, in his manners most cordial and democratic. His personality indeed is winning, if not magnetic. His quiet unobtrusiveness has more charm and power than animated and ingenious volubility. He is a good listener, and comprehends and responds quickly. There is no cant, no diplomacy of deception, in his composition. The very frankness of his nature is revealed in his face, which, however, is characterized by a look of firmness that cannot be concealed by a pair of merry blue eyes. Square-set jaws, indicative of firmness, a full aquiline nose, and well-rounded forehead portray in part the outlines of his clean-shaven face. He has a good upper lip. His smile is quiet, but it has force and courage more expressive of humor and genuine geniality than a loud laugh. He does not smile with his mouth, but with his eyes; and the humor seems to bubble out and light up his countenance. His hair is nearly all gray, and thin on the top of his head. He is tall, and his frame is sinewy and athletic. Though sixty-four years old, he is active and robust and free from all premature signs of decay. His step is springy, and his form erect. There are certainly few men of his years who have led so busy a life who could compare to him physically.

HOME LIFE.

Mr. Morton is possibly seen to best advantage in his home life, and his great success in business has enabled him to have four handsome homes suitable to the various seasons of the year. He has one in Fifth Avenue, New York; another in Washington; another at Newport, R. I.; and the fourth and newest near Rhinebeck on the Hudson. His city home has been thus described by a recent writer:

"Mr. Morton's home at No. 85 Fifth Avenue, New York, is a large brown-stone double house, with a large doorway, and a broad hall running through the centre to a dining-room at the back. On the wall of the hall to the right one sees an excellent portrait of President Garfield; while on the left is one of Benjamin Constant's famous oil-paintings, representing the interior of an Oriental dwelling. The parlors of the house, which are magnificently furnished, are entered from a door at the right hand, and Mr. Morton's library by a door to the left. Beyond, one sees a great stairway winding its way to the upper rooms of the house, and at the end of the hall the glass doors of the dining-room. The latter is of a stately character, occupying almost the entire width of the house. Several handsome oil-paintings of the French school occupy its walls, and a beautiful chandelier hangs over the centre-table. Beyond the dining-room is a large conservatory for flowers. Visitors have usually found Mr. Morton at work in his library. The room is a highly interesting one, owing to its pictures and decorations. While Minister to France Mr. Morton purchased a rare portrait of Washington and another rare one of Lafayette. These hang on the wall against which his writing-desk is placed, Immediately above the desk, on the wall, is an almost life-size photograph of Gambetta. This picture is one of the most faithful representations of the great French orator ever made. There hangs by the window that looks out into Fifth Avenue a portrait of President Arthur, a most excellent likeness. By its side is a photograph of Marshal McMahon, and another of the Count de Rochambeau. On another wall there hang the portraits in oil of Mr. Morton's father, the Rev. Daniel O. Morton,

and of his mother's brother, the Rev. Levi Parsons, the first American missionary to Palestine, from whom he obtained his surname. There is also a daguerreotype of the country store in Concord, N. H., in which Mr. Morton began his business life. In front of the grate fire on the floor one sees some interesting historical relics. They are two large spherical iron shells which were thrown into Paris by the German cannon in 1871. Some brass chains connect the two shells and serve as a fender to the fireplace."

His three other homes are complete after the same fashion, except the one near Rhinebeck, which has yet to receive its finishing touches. It will, however, be a splendid country mansion, and is surrounded by an estate recently acquired of 1000 acres.

Mr. Morton has been twice married. His first wife was Miss Lucy Kimball, of Lebanon, N. H., a village six miles away from Hanover, where Mr. Morton first started in business for himself. The first Mrs. Morton was a most admirable woman, and was noted for her beauty and gracious charity. She died in 1870, and in 1873 Mr. Morton married his present wife, who is a daughter of William I. Street, of New York. Mrs. Morton has long been famous in the great cities of the world for beauty, tact, wit, and graciousness. By this marriage Mr. Morton has five daughters, the eldest of whom is now only fourteen. He has two adopted children, however, the son and daughter of his brother, Daniel O. Morton, who died in Ohio some twelve years ago. The son is a member of the firm of Morton, Bliss & Co., while the daughter is married to Mr. Ernest Chaplin, an English gentleman, who since his marriage has become a member of the London firm of Morton, Rose & Co.

Mrs. Morton takes a very lively interest in her husband's public life, and in public affairs generally; and when the committee from the Chicago Convention called at Rhinebeck to formally notify Mr. Morton of his nomination, she was present to assist in the reception and the entertainment of the committee. This she did with her usual tact and gracefulness, and after that day there will be one more witness in each State and Territory of the Union to testify to the fact that Levi P.

Morton has been fortunate in other regards than an abundantly successful business career and in winning the confidence and respect of all who know of his public and private life. A virtuous woman is a crown to her husband, and her price is far above rubies.

NOTIFIED OF HIS NOMINATION.

When the committee called to notify Mr. Morton of his nomination, he received them in the simplest fashion in the front yard of his temporary cottage home, beneath the shade of a magnificent pine-tree, and surrounded by a few of his neighbors. Moving into the library, the chairman of the committee very briefly informed Mr. Morton of his selection by the Convention. His reply was characteristically brief and terse. He said:

"MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE: I am profoundly sensible of the high honor conferred on me by the National Republican Convention recently in session at Chicago, and thank you, gentlemen, for the courteous and complimentary terms in which you have officially announced my nomination as the candidate of the Republican party for the Vice-Presidency. I am also deeply sensible of the honor conferred upon the State of New York in the selection of a citizen of this State as one of the standard-bearers in the approaching peaceful conflict of the two great political parties of the country for supremacy. New York represents in a large degree the business interests and industries which it is the mission of the Republican party to foster and protect. The platform so wisely adopted at Chicago has this mission boldly in view, and by its enunciation of these principles makes the issue of the coming campaign clear and distinct. I accept the position tendered by the convention of which you are the honored representatives, and will in due time address to you, Mr. Chairman, an official communication to that effect."

TRUE TO EVERY TRUST.

In this sketch we have all too briefly followed the career of Mr. Morton from his humble home in the hills of Vermont

until his acceptance of the high trust placed in his hands by the Republican party. We have found that wherever he has been placed he has been faithful to the interests confided to his care, and as the guardian of his own good name he has set an example of integrity and a high sense of honor, which among American merchants will always make him known and respected. We have seen him as a boy, a clerk in a country store, sent by his employer to take upon himself heavier responsibilities; we have seen him a prosperous country merchant, invited by an older merchant to go to a wider field, and in partnership to make larger ventures; we have noticed his advent to the great American metropolis, where he was compelled to compete with the merchant-princes of the day; we have seen him in reverses of fortune, brought on by civil war, meet these reverses with serene courage; we have seen him, when in a new career greater prosperity had come to him, insist that his creditors should receive every farthing that was due to them; we have seen him the great banker, with a firm step mounting higher and higher the financial ladder until his name and credit were known and respected in all the marts of civilization; we have seen him representing his people in Congress and unflinchingly fighting the fallacies of the day; we have seen him as his country's minister in a foreign land conducting her affairs with diplomatic dignity and cool, calm sagacity; we have seen him as a benefactor of suffering humanity, bestowing his wealth with large generosity, but a modest shrinking from public applause. And in all these capacities and at all times, everywhere we have marked him as a man among men, an American among Americans, brave when the times were trying, cool and courageous when others faltered, true to himself, true to his friends, true to his party, true to his country, and always faithful to a sense of duty, only circumscribed by a high integrity which has always been all-unbounded.

Such is the man the Republican party has selected for its candidate for Vice-President of the United States.

RISE OF THE

REPUBLICAN LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES.

By James P. Foster, President National League.

NOTHING within human power can now stop or retard the growth of this League; organized as it was to aid in the promotion of the principles of the Republican party, and the election of the candidates named by the regular party organization. In the performance of the duties of the League personal ambition must sink out of sight.

ORIGIN OF THE CLUB MOVEMENT.

As far back as March, 1887, it was deemed advisable to look up the Republican clubs of the country with a view of organizing a National League of Clubs; in fact, after the defeat of 1884 the outlook for the Republican party was such that, while vitality and energy were everywhere apparent, yet serious questions arose about what to do to insure success in 1888; and when the Republican Club of the city of New York held its first annual banquet to commemorate the anniversary of the birth of Lincoln on February 12, 1887, the statement by the president of the club regarding the value of club organization met with such hearty response that steps were at once taken to appoint a committee from that club, known as the "Committee on Associate Organizations," with Joseph Pool as chairman and Henry Gleason as secretary, and by April this committee was fully at work. My reply to the toast of "Republican Clubs" at the banquet of the Americus Club of Pittsburgh, Pa., April 27, 1887, the anniversary of the birth of General Grant, met with the same hearty response, and greatly encouraged activity in this league movement. By great devotion and diligent effort through the medium of circulars and letters, and the

valuable aid of Republican newspapers throughout the country, the existence of some three hundred clubs was discovered.

ORGANIZATION OF THE NATIONAL LEAGUE.

A National Convention of Republican Clubs was called for December 15, 16, and 17, 1887, at Chickering Hall, New York City. About 1500 delegates were present from 23 States and Territories.

The Hon. Daniel J. Ryan, of Ohio, was chosen temporary chairman, and Senator Wm. M. Evarts as permanent chairman. The usual committees on "Credentials," "Rules and Order of Business," "Resolutions," and on "Constitution for the League" were appointed, and in every sense the convention was one of great enthusiasm and gave a wonderful impetus to aggressive Republicanism. At this convention the "Republican League of the United States" was organized, and the organization of State Leagues went bravely forward from that time. Ohio, New Jersey, and Connecticut had previously organized State Leagues; in Michigan a large club of several thousand members, extending over the State in branches, had been organized; and in Indiana the Lincoln League, of a similar character, was in existence. To-day all the States and Territories given below are organized with State Leagues, and are members of the National League, having in all some 6500 clubs and about one million of members:

California, Colorado, Connecticut, Dakota, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Vermont, Virginia, West Virginia, Wisconsin, District of Columbia.

The National Convention at Chickering Hall performed the valuable work of adopting a constitution for the National League, and one for recommendation to the State Leagues and likewise for local clubs. In all of these was provided:

First, for annual conventions of the State Leagues, each local club in the State, a member of the League, being entitled to three delegates.

The local clubs meet as often as they desire so to do.

Second, the National League has an annual convention composed of four delegates from each State League.

Third, running through the constitutions of all the leagues and clubs is the provision that it "shall not in any manner endeavor to influence the action of any National, State, county, or municipal convention; nor shall it indicate, as a League, any preference for any candidate before any political convention, nor shall it, as a League, recommend any person as an applicant for any official position."

This is a saving clause which adds great power to the League, for it places it as an engine behind the regular organization to accomplish the purposes of the campaign. At the National Convention of Clubs there were resolutions adopted too long to insert here, but which reviewed the history of our party and its devotion to the best interests of the country, reasserted its position as against "polygamy," "ignorance," and "intemperance," and briefly reviewed President Cleveland's message of December, 1887. The convention also declared its adherence to the "protective tariff," showing its great advantage to the Republic and our growth under its benign influences. The resolutions expressed in no uncertain sound the disastrous effects of the Democratic policy of free trade, and that, as a party, it is a menace to our prosperity and advancement, as well as hindering the Territories from becoming States, and preventing an honest ballot and a fair count; and with a record of broken pledges, and "culpable weakness in guarding American interests and individual rights on the high seas and in foreign lands," and likewise "with trampling upon the just claims of the soldiers of the Republic," and keeping alive sectional strife.

These resolutions have been printed and distributed far and wide, and have helped to create the aggressive spirit and enthusiasm for the supremacy of the Republican party everywhere manifest to-day.

AN UPRISING OF YOUNG MEN.

Around this league movement came at once the young men of the country,—those who are to cast their first votes this year,—and club after club has been organized containing no member over 22 years of age.

This club movement became so popular that it can fairly be called an uprising of the young men of the Republic. One instance alone will suffice. In West Virginia there were four Republican clubs in December, 1887, and on February 15, 1888, I attended at Wheeling the convention to form a State League, where 118 clubs were represented. Thus in six weeks this grand work had been accomplished.

This was not alone the case in West Virginia, but everywhere I went I found the same popular sentiment in favor of the league plan. In Illinois, March 9th, 400 clubs were represented by 2000 delegates, and in Nebraska, March 15th, some 200 clubs sent 800 delegates, and so on in Iowa, Vermont, New Hampshire, this growth became wonderful. In Michigan, on February 22d, 1000 delegates formed the State League, and afterwards attended a banquet where over 1000 additional citizens came to hear the Republican responses. Hundreds of them came 300 to 500 miles.

At the State League banquet at Columbus, Ohio, February 13th, Governor Foraker expressed the sentiment which has been reiterated in my presence hundreds of times to this effect: What does this uprising mean here in the dead of winter? While we are wearing our overcoats, and no platform or candidates before the party, we assemble at great inconvenience and expense. It is the people expressing their determination to have an end of such an administration of public affairs as we now have, and put a stop to any foreign interference with American concerns.

In Vermont, July 26, 1888, where some 15,000 citizens rallied at the Republican gathering, it was claimed on all sides that this league plan of clubs had made it possible to get the grand results there witnessed.

THEORY AND OBJECTS OF CLUB ORGANIZATION.

The theory of the league is simple yet persistent, and that is to reach the individual voter as the source of power under our government,—and without him the fabric falls to pieces. To accomplish this a club should be formed in every school district.

There is no mistaking the tendency in this campaign toward organization, and the object of the local club as well as the National and State Leagues is threefold:

First, unity of thought on the great questions before the people.

Second, unity of purpose toward a purer election, and the elevation of that sphere flippantly spoken of as "politics."

Third, unity of action among large bodies of citizens under one head, as distinguished from individual effort.

To belong to the local club is likewise to be a member of the State and National Leagues, and by this means the individual voter can realize that personal effort is always of some avail, for he is a part of a mighty organization reaching from ocean to ocean, broad and patriotic in its aims. Very few know the labor such an undertaking has required, but now it has become popular, and to be outside of a Republican club is almost like being disfranchised.

The large majority of these clubs being self-sustaining, they create an individual interest in the result of the campaign, for a member who pays to join a club and keep it alive becomes at once an active canvasser for members and voters.

Then self-instruction follows membership, and thousands of instances can be given where the ignorant member has applied for literature immediately on his joining the club. Close upon this comes one of the most important factors in club life, namely, the bringing out of local speakers, or encouraging otherwise silent members to express their views.

Too much importance cannot be attached to this method of discussion. Take a lukewarm Republican, or one who considers himself unequal to the debate, and force him to the front ranks;

just as soon as he has committed himself by an expression of his views he becomes active, alive, well versed, and a strong member of the club, and his power is often greater than that of the trained or professional speaker, because he communicates his ideas in words and sentiments corresponding to those of other men similarly situated.

AUXILIARIES.

The club has its auxiliaries in the glee club of its members, its literary department for debates and the distribution of literature, which is exceedingly important, and the demand, now far in excess of the resources of the National League, is beyond precedent in politics. There seems to be no end to the desire of citizens to know more and more about the effects of protection or free trade. The department of the club work known as the "house-to-house canvass" is one of great importance, and should be pushed with zeal, for by this method the status of the citizen is fixed, the doubtful voter converted, and any attempt at fraud either defeated at its start or detected in its execution. The swerving of a club member is indeed a rare occurrence.

FUTURE OF THE LEAGUE.

This National League organization has come to stay; it is close down to the people; it gives every voter an opportunity to have a word to say; it emphasizes the words of the great Lincoln referring to a government for the people and by the people, because the influence that the citizen can exert in his local club can often determine the result of the election in his district, and this could not be done without a club organization. Then the club can get up mass meetings and be a center of political thought and action unknown without it. Yet beyond all this, through the club the issues can be placed directly before each voter, and without the club he might remain ignorant of what the parties claimed as their principles, so that a personal decision can be made by the voter; not because some boss says he must so decide, but because his intellect is made his

only boss. Looking to the sunny South, it is not too much to predict that club organization will revolutionize those States, for discussion and union and a calm conclusion will eventually bring out a force of will and condition of mind which will revolt at anything like deception or fraud. The discussion of the tariff issue alone has already made club organizations needed, and the clubs have been formed in many places where they never existed in any previous campaign.

So that in proportion as the clubs organize as a permanent institution and continue to exist after Harrison and Morton have been elected, in that proportion will the National League continue as a powerful aid in politics; and from the present outlook it is safe to say that the League will continue for many years to come, even if it does not become a permanent organization, and that the next National Convention will represent at least 15,000 Republican League Clubs, and a membership of many millions of voters; and that although some clubs may cease to be very active, or a few possibly may disband, yet the idea, the plan, and the knowledge of how to organize will have been spread abroad, the theory of "politics" will have undergone a great change, the sneer will cease, and every citizen will look on "politics" as being synonymous with protection to his home, his peace, his prosperity, and a duty of his citizenship, likewise a privilege granted only to the American citizen.

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